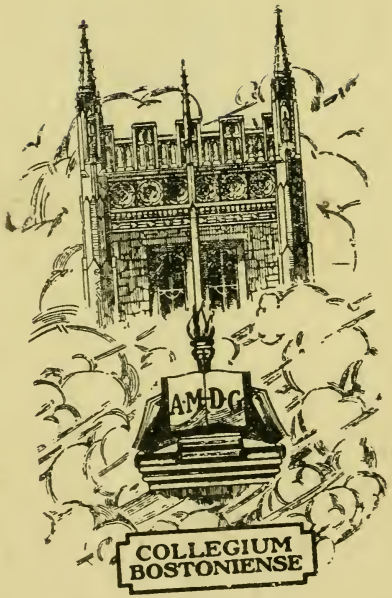
A SHORT HISTORY OF IRELAND

CONSTANTIA MAXWELL



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A Short History of Ireland

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PREFACE.

My endeavour in writing this little book has been to present a clear and impartial account of the chief features of Irish History. In view of the notable gaps which exist in the scientific treatment of social and economic questions, I have purposely dealt mainly with political events. I have also intentionally neglected the important subjects of Celtic mythology and literature, as being beyond the scope of an elementary historical text book.

A work of this kind is necessarily based upon secondary sources; I have, therefore, appended a short list of those authorities to which I am indebted.

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CHAPTER I.

EARLY IRELAND.

1. IRELAND AND THE ORIGINS OF THE IRISH RACE.

The Geographical Position of a country has always some influence upon its history, and this is especially true of that great group of islands which lies to the north-west of Europe, of which Ireland forms part. Owing to the isolated position of Great Britain and Ireland in the Western sea we have been unaffected by many of the movements and forces which have played an important part on the Continent. Our problems have often been peculiar to ourselves, and so our development has been different from that of other nations. If Ireland had been placed an island like Iceland, entirely apart, she too would have had a separate and original development; but being, as she is, a near neighbour of England, the history of the two countries has necessarily been closely connected. Though they have not always recognised the fact, their nearness has given them a common fortune, the safety and well-being of the one being bound up with the safety and well-being of the other. Ireland, however, lies just far enough away to have made a perfect union between the two countries extremely difficult, and one of the main problems of British history has been to find the best method of so far uniting the two islands as to secure the mutual advantage of each.

The **Natural Features** of Ireland itself have been of great importance in her history. The ring of mountains round the coast, for instance, has prevented free communication with the interior, and so has made commercial development difficult. Again, the great number of rivers, mountains and lakes, and the way in which they are placed, have intersected the country to such a degree that its different parts are very much cut off from one another. This has made an invader's task always extremely difficult, and has greatly aided the natives in their methods of defence. For this reason, too, the Irish, like the ancient Greeks, who were similarly situated, have always tended to gather together in isolated groups like separate little peoples, and this partly accounts for the fact that we have never, as a people, shown a sustained spirit of patriotism, or been able to form a really firm and united nation.

The **Original Inhabitants** of Ireland were a nameless race, of which we know little, except that they were probably of Aegean origin. They have left their traces all over the country in those great stone monuments known as 'Cromlechs,' 'Dolmens,' 'Menhirs,' and so forth, which are also to be found in the rest of Western Europe. They gradually gave way before other invaders with whom they mingled. The chief of these invaders of whom we know anything definite were the Celts. The **Celts** formed part of the great Aryan race to which most of the European peoples belong. They came originally from the Danube, and gradually spread over Central Europe, reaching the height of their power about 300 years before Christ. They soon broke up, however, before the force of Rome and the more vigorous Teutonic races from the North, and their numerous tribes drifted in successive waves mostly to the west, where they found a permanent resting-place. In England they were driven northwards to the Scottish Highlands and westwards

to the mountains of Wales, but in Ireland, which was never subjugated or even visited by the Romans, they were left unmolested.

According to the old Irish legends, which must have been grounded on some sort of fact, Ireland was invaded and colonised by **five different peoples**: the Parthalonians, the Nemedians, the Firbolgs, the Dedannans, and the Milesians. The stories about the first three were probably meant to explain the existence of the various non-Aryan peoples which were found in subjection in historical times—that is to say, they represent the very earliest migrations to Ireland, of which very little is known. The legend of the Dedannans was perhaps invented after the introduction of Christianity to explain the origin of the pagan deities and fairy people reverenced by the earlier inhabitants,* while the coming of the Milesians seems to have been based upon the various Celtic invasions which, unlike the others, come within the times of more certain knowledge. Just as the first colonists gradually became merged in the Celts, who thenceforth formed the dominant element in the Irish people, so the Celts in later times became blended with the large numbers of Norman, English and Scottish settlers who came over to Ireland at different periods. Thus the modern Irish, like other European peoples, are descended from a mixture of many races.

2. THE TRIBES.

The Irish were the only branch of the Celts who did not come into contact with Rome; they were thus ignorant of the great Roman ideas of law and the State which moulded the barbarian invaders of the Empire into the modern nations of Europe. Being left to themselves

* This is indicated by the meaning of the name *Tuatha De Danann* or 'tribes of the goddess Danu.'

they alone retained those primitive customs which had been common to all Aryan peoples in very early times. Thus the basis of the Irish social system was the tribe.

The Tribe was formed of a number of families or clans, all descended, or supposed to be descended, from some common ancestor, and all bound together by the same customs. At the head of the tribe was the King or **Chief** (ri), who was elected by the people either for his strength, wealth or wisdom, or as the most suitable leader in times of war. The chief had certain of the tribe lands set apart for his own use, and he also exacted tributes in cattle and services from the people, and lent them cattle on hire. Next in importance to the chief came the land-owning nobles (flaiths), and below them were the freemen. Some of these owned property; those who did not were of lesser importance, yet had some share in the common lands of the tribe. The lowest social grade was that of the slaves (fudirs), who had no rights or property at all; these were generally men of subject races or had been taken captive in war. As there was no money, the wealth of the tribe was based upon the number of heads of cattle which it possessed, and sheep, pigs, and cows were also used as a medium of exchange and in the payment of tribute.

The ancient tribes are supposed to have grouped themselves together under **Five Provincial Kings**, who ruled over the five provinces of Ulster, Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath, into which early Ireland was divided. An **Ard-ri**, or over King, was supposed to preside over them all, exacting a tribute and some military service from each. As a matter of fact, the scale of authority among the chiefs and kings was never exactly the same, for the tribes were always at war, and sometimes one tribe got the upper hand and sometimes another.

The judicial functions of the tribe were exercised by a class of hereditary and professional lawyers and judges

called **Brehons.** They interpreted the tribal customs to the people, and built up a collection of rules, some of which are contained in the old law books, such as the 'Book of Aicill,' and the 'Senchus Mor,' both of which still exist. All notions of tribal justice seem to have been very primitive. The punishment for murder, for instance, consisted only in the payment of 'erics,' or fines, which varied according to the rank and importance of the murdered man. The Brehons decided on the amount which had to be paid, but they had no power to enforce their judgments, save the general public opinion of the tribe.

The Irish at this time were pagans. They worshipped the fire and sun and many natural objects such as stones and wells, besides a host of gods, idols and fairies. The **Druids** were not actually priests, but rather the tribal wizard men. They alone held the keys of supernatural learning and magical arts, and as all early peoples are extremely credulous, they possessed a great deal of influence.

The **manner of living** of the ancient Irish was simple and primitive; they have left no architectural remains, their houses being built of mud and wood, and their palaces, such as that of the Ard-ri at Tara, being fortified with earthen mounds. They used no cavalry in war, though possessing many ponies for transport, their main arm being the 'kern,' a light-armed foot-soldier without defensive armour, who was no match later on for the well-equipped Danish or Norman invaders. Though they excelled in harp-playing and in the working of precious metals, there is no evidence of any skill in the finer arts of sculpture or painting. Their methods of agriculture were very rude, and the custom of 'gavelkind,' by which a constant sub-division of the tribe lands took place, made agricultural progress impossible. They carried on some

trade with the Continent in slaves, ore, and ornamental articles, but, on the whole, their contact with the rest of Europe was slight.

The over-kingship gradually became hereditary in the Hy-Niall line, from whom are descended the chiefs of the O'Neills, and at the time when the power of the Romans had declined in Britain, **Niall of the Nine Hostages** (379-405 A.D.) was so powerful that he led a number of plundering expeditions against Scotland and Wales. As a rule, however, there was no central authority strong enough to hold the country together; the tribes were always at war, and Ireland in a state of turmoil. In England each successive invader—the Roman, English, Danish, and Norman, absorbed and added something of value to the preceding civilization. In Ireland, on the contrary, largely owing to the difficulty of effecting a conquest, the Danes seldom mingled with the native population outside the cities they built, and after the Norman invasion the English colonists held aloof from the tribes in order to preserve their own customs and government. Thus Celtic civilization and institutions, untouched as they were by outside influences, continued in Ireland right down to the sixteenth century, when English laws and customs were imposed upon the country after the wars of Elizabeth

3. ST. PATRICK AND THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

St. Patrick was probably born about 389 A.D. perhaps at a small place called Bannaventa, near the Severn. His family was Christian, and his father was a man of recognised position and a Roman official. When he was sixteen years old some Irish Celts or Gaels raided his native town, and he was carried away as a slave to serve an Irish master

in Connaught.* At the end of six years he managed to escape, and reaching the coast of Wicklow, he joined a trading ship bound for Gaul. Making his way to the South of France on foot, he entered the Monastery of Lérins, and after he had received a religious training he returned to his old home in Britain. He here had a vision, in which a voice summoned him to Ireland, urging him to convert the people to Christianity, and as during his years of slavery he had gained a good knowledge of the Irish language and customs, he was led to adopt a missionary career.

He was consecrated bishop in 432 A.D., and setting out with a company of fellow workers, he landed in the north. Though he was bitterly opposed by the Druids, especially at the court of Loigaire the Ard-ri, he seems to have won an instant success. A few Christian missionaries had already prepared the way for his labours, especially in Leinster. Many of the Irish chiefs, to whom he habitually first addressed himself, were converted to the new faith, and even when, as in the case of Loigaire, they remained pagan to the end, made no persistent opposition to his teaching. His enthusiasm, his courage, and a wise determination not needlessly to interfere with pagan ceremonies and customs, overcame all opposition and won over the people to the new religion. He **founded churches and monasteries** in many parts of Ireland, after the model of those in Europe, with Armagh as the central See ; and from his time Ireland has taken her place in universal Christendom.

After his death, however, the Irish Church lost touch with the Continent and developed on its own lines. The monasteries separated like the tribes, the churches paid

* Some say Antrim. It is difficult in these matters to distinguish history from legend, but see the evidence collected by Professor Bury upon this and other controversial points.

little attention to the claims of Armagh, and, on account of the difficulty of communication, Rome could not exercise a constant supervision. Though many of the Irish clergy laboured on the Continent from the sixth century, a still greater number fled thither after the Danish invasion. Possibly it was as a result of this that a closer conformity with Roman laws and customs was enforced by a Council held at Kells in 1152 A.D.

It was during this period of ecclesiastical independence in the centuries which preceded the Danish invasions that Ireland became the scene of a very remarkable religious movement. St. Patrick had introduced the knowledge of Latin into Ireland, and so had made possible the study of classical literature in the monasteries. Thus while the rest of Europe was being overrun by the Goths, Huns and other barbarians in the fifth century, many scholars fled to Ireland as an asylum, especially from Gaul. These men, who could find no peace to study at home, brought with them their books and their learning, and they taught the Irish monks the art of copying manuscripts, and of illuminating them in colours. Monasteries, schools and colleges sprang up everywhere, and a great missionary movement also began. Numbers of monks left the country to spread Irish learning abroad, and to make fresh converts to the Christian faith. Among the most celebrated of these was **St. Columba**, who converted the Picts of Scotland, and founded the famous monastery of Iona ; **St. Gall**, who established a monastery in Switzerland ; **St. Columbanus**, who preached in Gaul, and **John Scotus Erigena**, who taught in Paris, and was the most distinguished scholar of his time.

This was also the period of the best artistic work which has ever been done in Ireland. Numbers of crosses,

crosiers, bells and ornaments were beautifully worked and decorated, and manuscripts were illuminated and covered with the most intricate and wonderful designs. Among the best known of these art treasures are the Book of Kells, the Cross of Cong, the Ardagh Chalice, and the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell, all of which still exist and are preserved in Dublin.

Since the monasteries with their treasures were the wealthiest centres in Ireland, the Danes naturally made them their special object of attack. Ireland became no longer a peaceful refuge for scholars ; the inmates of the monasteries were scattered, and art and learning rapidly declined.

4. THE SCANDINAVIAN INVASION.

The Viking Movement took place in Western Europe from the eighth to the tenth centuries. The Vikings or Norsemen from Scandinavia raided the coasts in search of plunder and captives, sacked towns and monasteries, and gradually founded colonies and settlements. At the height of the movement they had established their rule in parts of England, Ireland, and Russia, and also in Normandy and the Isle of Man. After the tenth century, owing to the almost universal rise of national kings who led their peoples in a common movement against them, their power began to decline.

They first appeared off the Irish coast in 795 A.D., when they plundered the church on the island of Lambay, and in succeeding years they ravaged practically the whole country. In 832 A.D. they began to act in concert and to aim at the foundation of some permanent colony, and under their chief, **Turgesius**, they erected a kingdom in the north, with Armagh as its capital. In 845 A.D. this chief was

captured by the Irish and drowned in Lough Owel by order of the King of Meath. This did not put a stop, however, to the Danish advance. The Irish never united to make a steady resistance, and the Danes, with their better arms, easily overcame the primitive Irish soldiers. Nevertheless, the tribal organisation of the Irish made their total subjection impossible; there was no central power to be finally defeated, and as soon as one tribe was subdued another sprang up to fight in its place. Thus, while in England the Danes won definite battles and made permanent settlements, mingling with the people, in Ireland they always remained in the position of foreigners, never penetrating to the interior of the country, but maintaining garrisons on the coast.

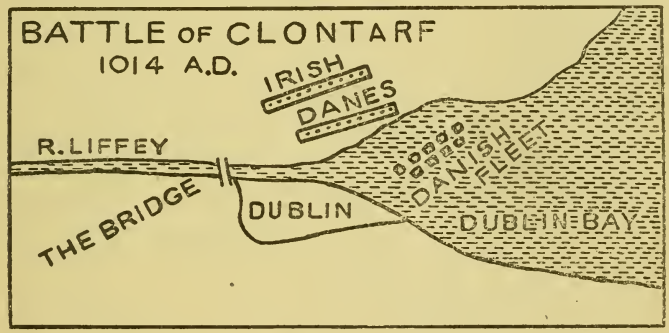
It was the Danes who first built towns in Ireland and who carried on a really extensive trade. They founded **Dublin** in 852—then **Wexford, Waterford, Limerick,** and **Cork.**

At the end of the tenth century an Irish chieftain arose to champion and unite the tribes against the Danes. The Munster tribe of the Dalcassians, under the leadership of two brothers, defeated the Limerick Danes near Tipperary at the **Battle of Sulchoit** in 968 A.D., and then wrested Limerick from their grasp. On the death of the elder brother, the younger, named **Brian Boru,** became King of Munster. He soon turned against the King of Leinster, who had become the ally of the Dublin Danes, and defeated him at the Battle of Glenmama in County Wicklow. Having thus grown very powerful, he next attacked Malachi, the King of Meath, took from him the over-lordship of all the tribes, and became Ard-ri in 1002 A.D.

Brian's rule over the tribes was very remarkable; he not only managed to keep order by hanging robbers and thieves, and giving justice to all, but he was a patron of learning, rewarding scholars, and sending for precious

books beyond the seas. He also built churches* and forts and tried to open up the country with bridges and roads. 'He was not a stone in the place of an egg,' says the old Irish annalist admiringly, 'but he was a hero in the place of a hero.'

After about twelve years of peaceful rule the provincial chiefs began to grow restless. The King of Leinster threw off his allegiance, and, making another alliance with the Dublin Danes, decided to engage Brian in battle. They assembled a large fleet and summoned great Viking leaders to their aid from all parts. Brian then mustered his men from Munster, Connaught and Meath, and advanced towards Dublin. The **Battle of Clontarf,** which was



fought on the plain of Dublin, commenced at sunrise on the 23rd April, 1014, and lasted until evening. It began with a single combat between two champions, and then the battalions on each side made a furious onslaught upon each other. The Dublin Danes were gradually overpowered by the men of Connaught, and driven towards the wattle bridge, which was the only one at that time

* Brian visited Armagh, as is shewn by his decree recognising the supremacy of the See, written in the Book of Armagh (MS. 9th century) in 1004 A.D. The entry is made by his secretary *in conspectu Briain, imperatoris Scotorum* (in the presence of Brian, ard-ri of the Irish).

over the river. Here a tremendous slaughter of them took place. The rest of the Danes, cut off from Dublin by the Irish occupation of the bridge, were forced into

the sea, where they found that the tide had carried their boats out of reach. Thus many of them were drowned. Though the Irish had gained a great victory, they lost

their old King Brian, for he was killed as he was lying in his tent by a Danish fugitive.

This battle was the severest defeat ever sustained by the Danes, and it was of the greatest importance—first, because it ensured the triumph of Christianity, and, secondly, because from henceforth the Vikings were so disheartened that their invasions became less frequent, and they gave up all idea of extensive settlements. Had they been victorious at Clontarf they would have established a kingdom in Ireland, and so might have welded the country together. As it was, their occupation had fostered Irish town life and laid the foundations of that Irish trade which brought Ireland into contact with the rest of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Danes, though never again dangerous, remained in their settlements till the coming of the Normans, when they either left Ireland or mingled with the rest of the population.

The death of Brian was a terrible misfortune. The supremacy of his tribe of the Dalcassians was lost; the other tribes continued their strife, and Ireland relapsed into a state of anarchy.

CHAPTER II.

THE NORMAN INVASION AND SETTLEMENT.

1. THE CAUSES OF THE INVASION.

THE **Normans**, or descendants of those Vikings who had settled in Northern France, are one of the great peoples of history. Not only were they distinguished by their vigour and their conquests, but also for their great ability in matters of government. The eleventh century was the period of their greatest activity. They then built up their Duchy of Normandy, undertook the conquest of England, Sicily, and Southern Italy, and took a prominent part in the Crusades.

The main purpose of the Norman Kings in their rule over the English was to build up a firm and united kingdom, and accordingly they maintained their authority with great strictness over all classes and over every part of the country. The conquest of England itself was followed by a lengthy struggle with Wales, and when the Irish aided the Welsh rebels and harboured others discontented with Norman rule, the subjection of Ireland also became necessary to complete those conquests which had already been made. The **Popes** were also anxious for a conquest which might put an end to the abuses existing in the Irish Church, and Henry II., it is said, had obtained the famous Bull 'Laudabiliter,' which gave the Papal sanction for an invasion.

It was the confusion which reigned in Ireland itself which gave the Normans a direct pretext for an expe-

dition. **Dermot MacMurrough**, the King of Leinster, being expelled by his rivals in 1166 A.D., appealed to Henry II. for aid. Henry was in France at the time and could not come to Ireland, so he gave Dermot permission to raise allies for his cause. The chief of the adventurers who promised help were the Norman-Welsh knights, **Robert Fitzstephen** and **Maurice Fitzgerald**, the ancestors of the Geraldines, and Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, who is generally known by his nickname of **Strongbow**. To the first two Dermot promised the town of Wexford, then in possession of the Danes, while to Strongbow he promised his daughter and the succession to his kingdom.

2. THE NORMAN EXPEDITIONS, 1169-1171 A.D.

In May, 1169, Fitzstephen and Maurice de Prendergast, another Norman adventurer, landed near **Wexford** with 120 mail-clad horsemen and about 400 archers armed with the longbow. They soon drove out the Danes and took over the town in accordance with Dermot's promise. In August, 1170, Strongbow arrived with 200 knights and 1,000 foot-soldiers, and was joined by Maurice Fitzgerald and Raymond le Gros. Dermot, by this time, with the aid of his allies, had regained his kingdom of Leinster and come to terms with Roderick O'Connor, the Ard-ri. The Irish chieftains, having arranged their affairs, now secretly wished for the departure of the Normans, who had no intention, however, of leaving the country before they had gained something definite. Strongbow, after the fall of **Waterford**, claimed Dermot's daughter Eva in marriage, and it was determined to attack the rest of the Danish coast towns, as these were the keys to the rest of the country. On the 21st of September **Dublin** was captured, and the Danish inhabitants took to their ships

Henry II. was now alarmed by the success of his vassals, and especially by the position which Strongbow was

making for himself. He had no objection to a mere free-booting expedition, but he did not wish for a conquest carried out by the adventurers for their own advantage, nor did he desire the erection of an independent Irish kingdom. In October, 1171, therefore, he landed in Waterford with a fleet of 400 ships and a force of 4,000 men, with which he proceeded to Dublin. The native Irish were greatly impressed by the splendour and numbers of the Norman forces, and in the skirmishes which had already taken place it was easily seen that their stones, javelins, and battleaxes and primitive methods of warfare were of little use against Norman discipline and Norman coats of mail. Henry never had to draw sword or bow; and nearly all the Celtic chieftains made their submission and paid formal homage to the English King.

3. NORMAN RULE IN IRELAND.

Henry would have remained in Ireland to secure his own power and to effect a complete conquest, but this was at present impossible, as he was not only engaged in wars with France and Wales, but was in the midst of a contest with some of his own subjects and with the Pope. He had, therefore, to leave the further subjection of the country and its final settlement in the hands of the original adventurers, whose obedience, however, he determined to secure by binding them under the feudal system of England. That is to say, he only granted them offices and lands on condition that they rendered him military services when required, and feudal dues, and also definitely recognised his suzerainty. He appointed the Norman **Hugh de Lacy** as Chief Governor (Justiciar) and Viceroy to act in his absence, and he also granted him the lands of Meath. Leinster was given to Strongbow. **John de Courcy** received the lordship of Ulster; Cork and the

surrounding country were granted to **Miles de Cogan** and Robert Fitzstephen, while the original grants in Wexford to Fitzstephen and Maurice Fitzgerald were confirmed.

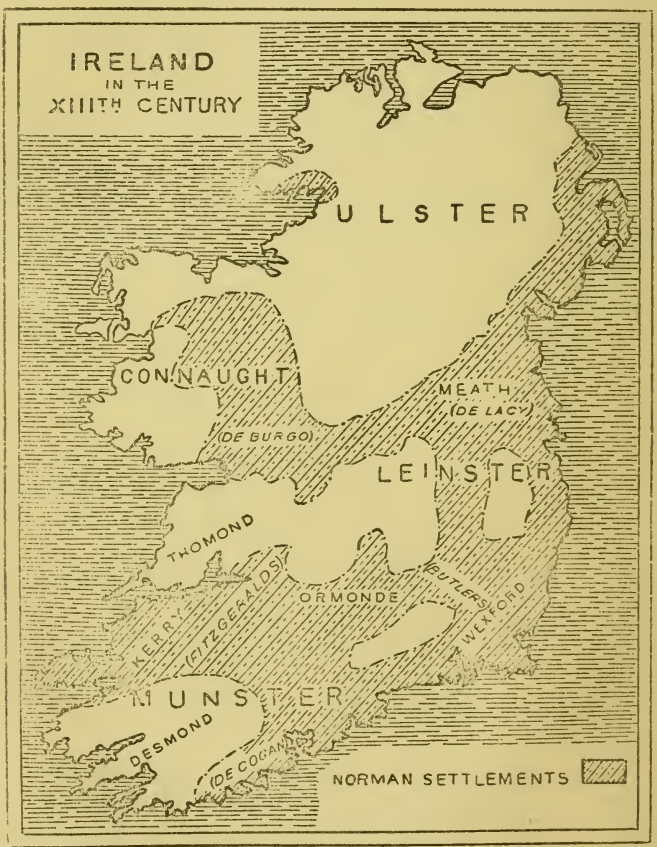
Henry had thus secured the allegiance, such as it was, of both his Norman vassals and of the Irish chiefs. He now gained over the Irish clergy by summoning a great **Council at Cashel**, where he promised them certain privileges. In April, 1172, he returned to England.

From this time forward the Normans continued to win lands from the tribesmen and to cover the country with their castles, so that by the end of the twelfth century nearly two-thirds of Ireland had passed under Norman rule, Shires were created, law courts on the English model were established, and there was a Viceroy at Dublin Castle, who ruled with the aid of a Great Council.

It should be remembered that this Norman occupation was an illegal one in the eyes of the Irish. Henry II. had no right to the country save that of conquest, and even though the chiefs had temporarily submitted to him out of fear, had surrendered their lands and had received them back again as feudal vassals, 'for them and their heirs for ever,' these lands were not really theirs to give, but belonged to their tribe as a whole. Thus, no real or binding submission had been made, the assent of the native Irish population having been ignored. The Normans regarded the situation as conquerors and from the feudal standpoint; the Irish believed in their old tribal customs and bitterly resented what they deemed to be the Norman intrusion.

Despite the continuous warfare on this account between the settlers and the natives, on the whole a **marked improvement took place in the general condition of the country.** In the conquered districts a rough form of Norman law and order was maintained; the natives were encouraged to remain as cultivators on Norman lands; the wars among the

tribes themselves decreased ; there was an increase of trade with the foundation of new towns, such as Kilkenny, New Ross, and Carlow, and with the establishment of Norman farms and manors came an improvement in agriculture.



The Norman power in Ireland reached its zenith about the end of the thirteenth century, but after that it began to decline rapidly.

CHAPTER III.

THE DECLINE OF ENGLISH POWER AND ADVANCE OF THE CELTS.

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1. STATE OF IRELAND FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

The Normans, or English as they may now be called, met with the same difficulty in the conquest of Ireland as the Danes. Except for the shadowy and ineffectual power of the Ard-ri there was nothing central for them to strike at, nor was there any national organisation, such as they had found in England, which they could absorb. The tribes could only be subdued by degrees, and this too under very unfavourable circumstances. If the English Kings had remained in the country for any length of time, they could have secured order and kept their vassals in check, and had they employed a regular army of trained soldiers the tribes could not have withstood them very long. Again, had a steady stream of settlers followed in the wake of the first adventurers the conquests already made would have been more firmly secured. As it was, occupied with their wars with Scotland and France, and in the fifteenth century distracted by the civil Wars of the Roses, they could bestow very little attention upon Ireland. The result was that everything necessary for a speedy and satisfactory conquest was lacking. The great Anglo-Irish nobles, freed from the controlling influence of the King, gained great power in their dominions, and were

divided by jealousies and always fighting with the officials and new settlers from England. If they had been left entirely alone, being of Norman blood, they would probably have created an orderly kingdom, but the King feared to give them a free hand, and usually played one against the other as the only means by which he could keep them in check. This policy, which was also followed by the Viceroy in Dublin, only increased their violence and tyranny, and led to a dreadful state of feudal anarchy. The regular army which was needed in Ireland, not only did not exist, but the Irish barons themselves and their forces were continually drafted away for English and French wars. The country became so disordered that new settlers were very few, and many of the old colonists went back to England. Some of the Norman lords, left alone in their castles, without money and without troops, had to throw themselves on the support of their Irish tenants and subjects. They and their people married Irish wives, adopted Irish dress and customs, rode their horses without saddles, wore their hair long and grew moustaches in the Irish fashion, spoke the Irish language, and employed 'kern' rather than English archers. These **'Degenerate English,'** as they were called, gradually became 'more Irish than the Irish themselves,' though they never lost the Norman spirit of governance, and were a source of great anxiety to the Government. Not only were many of them actually hostile, but their absorption with the tribes meant the loss of much of the territory which had been gained by the English.

The Celts, who by this time made no pretence of submitting, took courage from the confusion which reigned among the settlers, and having learned something of their methods of warfare, they came down from the mountains and out of the bogs and forests to which they had been driven, and though they were incapable of any national

resistance, owing to their continual tribal wars, they gradually recovered large tracts of their original territories.

If we compare the maps of Ireland on pages 18 and 30, we shall be able to realise the great advance made by the Celts between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first shows the Norman power at its height, with Norman settlements over a large part of the country; the second shows the English settlers proper as gathered into that small district which included Dublin and the surrounding counties of Meath, Louth, and Kildare. This district, which was named the **'English Pale'** about the beginning of the fifteenth century, was partly fortified by a palisade and a ditch to protect it from the attacks of the Celtic tribesmen. These often pounced down from the mountains, upon the outskirts, carrying off booty and exacting tribute or 'black rent' from the settlers. The Palesmen were under the direct supervision of the Viceroy and of the garrison, who often plundered them unmercifully, and they were often oppressed by great lords, such as the Earl of Kildare, who quartered their horses and soldiers upon them in accordance with the practice known as "coyne and livery," and exacted other heavy dues. Thus, though the Pale was more orderly and civilised than the rest of Ireland, its inhabitants often existed in a state of great misery. The rest of the loyal English were composed of the descendants of the original Anglo-Norman families who had mingled in various degrees with the Celts, but who had preserved their English sympathies. Such were the three great lords, the **Earls of Kildare, Desmond,** and **Ormond,** who ruled their separate territories almost in the manner of independent kings. There were also a number of loyal settlers in the towns and in various fortresses scattered over the country.

2. THE INVASION OF EDWARD BRUCE, 1315.

The great victory of Robert Bruce, the Scottish national hero, over the English forces at Bannockburn in 1314, encouraged the native Irish also to make a definite attempt ar rebellion. Some of the northern chiefs invited Bruce's brother to come to Ireland in order that he might strike a further blow at English power. The Scots being favourable to the plan, Edward Bruce landed at Larne in May, 1315, with a force of 6,000 men. The colonists in their feebleness made a poor stand against him. He first defeated Richard De Burgh, the powerful Earl of Ulster, near Ballymena, and then proceeding southwards he defeated the Viceroy in Kildare, and Mortimer, lord of Meath, at Kells. He then, in conjunction with his Irish allies, wasted and ravaged the English territories all over the country, and had himself proclaimed King of Ireland.

The tide soon turned against him, however ; by ravaging the country he had wasted the provisions of his army, and the English colonists, making a supreme effort, collected a large force under **John de Bermingham,** and, on the 14th October, 1318, utterly defeated the Scots near Dundalk. Edward Bruce was killed and his forces dispersed. About the same time Richard de Bermingham inflicted a severe defeat at **Athenry** upon the clan of the O'Connors of Connaught. This was the worst actual defeat so far sustained by the Celts ; nevertheless, the English power was so badly shaken by the Bruce invasion that the general disorder in the country was greatly increased. The O'Neills regained their lands in the north ; Ralph Ufford, sent over by Edward III., was chased out of Ulster by the natives, and since the Government was proved unable to protect its subjects, many of them cast off their allegiance, and, like the Burghs or Burkes of Connaught, threw in their lot with the tribes.

3. THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY

(40 EDWARD III.), 1367 A.D.

As all idea of further conquests in Ireland had now to be abandoned, the Crown was thrown back upon a strict policy of defence. A statute was passed in 1295 in the reign of Edward I. which compelled those lords who had border estates, and who had left their tenants to the tender mercies of the Irish, to return to defend them. In 1356 a proclamation was made that only Englishmen by birth could hold command in any of the royal towns or castles.

The Treaty of Bretigni, concluded with France in 1361, gave Edward III. a temporary respite from the 'Hundred Years' War,' and in that year he sent his son, **Lionel**, afterwards **Duke of Clarence**, over to Ireland as Viceroy. 'Our Irish dominions,' he declared, 'have been reduced to such utter devastation and ruin that they may be totally lost if our subjects there are not immediately succoured.' Lionel proved no great governor, but it was through his influence that the statute of Kilkenny became law.

The statute was intended to deal with the chief cause which was undermining English rule, namely, the intermixture of the Anglo-Normans with the natives. It was determined that this process should be barred, and that what remained of the English settlements in Ireland should be strengthened and preserved. The Act clearly enunciated this **protective policy.** Intermarriage between the English and Irish was forbidden. The English were not to speak the Irish language, nor were they to abandon their English names, clothes, or customs. They were not to supply Irishmen with food, horses, or arms. They were to use the common law of England and not the Brehon law of the Celts, which was referred to as a 'bad custom.' The churches were to be kept distinct, and no Irishman was to be admitted to any church, college, or

benefice situated in English territory. If Irish cattle were pastured on English land without leave of the lord they could be seized and confiscated. No Irish bard or piper was to be entertained by the English, as these had often acted as spies. Then, in order to keep the peace between the new and the original settlers, the statute also proclaimed that no difference was to be made between them, that the insulting names of 'Irish dog' and 'English hobbe' were to be discontinued, and that all were to be considered as 'English lieges of our lord the King.'

The Dublin government, however, had no means of carrying out its will, and the English kings soon turned to their French wars. Thus the Statute of Kilkenny remained almost a dead letter.

4. THE YORKISTS IN IRELAND.

As has already been said, the Kings of England, engaged in foreign and home affairs, paid little attention to Ireland, and seldom set foot in the country.

King John came over in 1210 and tried to strengthen the royal power by appointing itinerant judges and enforcing English law.

Ireland was not again visited by an English king till 1394-1399 A.D., when **Richard II.** led over two large expeditions, and received what was again only the nominal submission of many of the Irish chiefs. Before he could accomplish anything of value he was recalled to England to face a serious rebellion. So feeble had the English power in Ireland become that on both occasions Richard was severely harassed in his passage through the Wicklow mountains by **Art MacMurrough Kavanagh,** the Irish self-styled King of Leinster, who not only brought the English army to great straits, but was able to maintain a large and independent kingdom just beside the Pale for a period of nearly fifty years.

In the reign of Henry VI., **Richard Duke of York** was sent over as Viceroy. During his ten years in office he made himself so popular with all parties by his conciliatory firmness that when the Wars of the Roses broke out in 1455 between the houses of Lancaster and York, many of the Anglo-Irish nobles took up the Yorkist cause. In 1450 the Duke returned to England, but after the Battle of Bloreheath (1459) and the discomfiture of his party, he took refuge in Ireland. Though he had been attainted in England, the Anglo-Irish Parliament in Dublin proclaimed him Viceroy, and at the same time declared their own independence of England. Many Irish also fell fighting for him at Wakefield (1460), at which battle he lost his life.

The accession of Henry VII. to the throne of England in 1485 marked the final triumph of the Lancastrians and the end of the Wars of the Roses. During his reign, however, Henry was always surrounded by Yorkist plots, two of which, at least, found hearty support in Ireland. The cause of the imposter, **Perkin Warbeck,** was eagerly taken up at Cork, while **Lambert Simnel** was actually crowned and acknowledged as King in Dublin.

The participation of the Irish in the Wars of the Roses still further weakened the rapidly diminishing power of England in Ireland. Great numbers of Anglo-Irish barons fell on English battlefields, and a miniature warfare was also carried on in Ireland itself between the Geraldines and the Butlers, for while the former had taken up the Yorkist cudgels, the latter were firm adherents to the Lancastrian cause.

5. POYNINGS' LAW (10 HENRY VII.), 1494.

The task which lay before Henry VII. on his accession to the English throne was the restoration of order and the creation of a strong government. As Ireland was the

centre of Yorkist plots which always found support amongst the English colonists, Henry determined to strike a blow at their power, and to crush the independence of their Parliament. For this purpose he sent over **Sir Edward Poynings** as Deputy, who summoned a Parliament at Drogheda in 1494, and secured the passing of a number of Acts to carry out the King's policy. The lords of the Pale were forbidden to make war without the consent of the government. They were not to oppress their vassals, nor were they to gather together large bodies of retainers; judges and officers of state were no longer to hold their places for life, but only according to the King's pleasure.

The Act which related to the Irish Parliament was that which was afterwards known as 'Poynings' Law.' Hitherto the Viceroys had summoned Parliaments almost as they pleased, and had often legislated in a selfish and oppressive manner. During the Wars of the Roses some of them had been actually disloyal, giving their assent to measures which were injurious to the power of the Crown. To make a repetition of this impossible, the Act took away the freedom of the Irish Parliament and made it subordinate to that of England. Before summoning it the Deputy had first to obtain the royal licence; he had then to submit the heads of all the bills which it was proposed to introduce, and finally, before any of these could become law, the consent of the King and English Privy Council must be obtained. The English Parliament was not actually to legislate for Ireland, but all English laws then in force were to apply to this country also.

These enactments were really aimed at the excessive power of the nobles and of the Viceroy, and as such they were at the time acceptable to the English colonists. Later on, however, they hampered the power of the Irish Parliament to such an extent that constitutional progress became impossible.

The Parliament of Drogheda also provided for the defence of the Pale. The ditches round its margin were to be repaired, the borders were to be guarded, and the provisions of the Statute of Kilkenny were again affirmed.

Poynings' rule in Ireland was short and unsuccessful. The Anglo-Norman party was jealous of his power and disliked his policy, and forwarded so many complaints that Henry was forced to recall him and to attempt another method of governing Ireland.

6 THE GERALDINE SUPREMACY (1496-1534 A.D.).

The real enemies which the English Crown had to fear in Ireland were not the Irish themselves, but those Anglo-Irish colonists who wished to be independent of English control. Henry VII. therefore determined to try a new experiment. Instead of governing Ireland from England, the English power in the country was to be upheld by combining it with that of the strongest of the nobles, who, in return for conducting the government, and preserving order, were to be allowed to do pretty much as they pleased.

The Geraldines were by this time the most powerful of all the Anglo-Norman houses. They were descended, it will be remembered, from that **Maurice Fitzgerald** and his relatives who came over at the time of the Norman invasion. They had gradually divided themselves into two branches, which were converted into Earldoms early in the fourteenth century. The Earls of Desmond ruled over the Munster Branch, and held most of Limerick, Cork, and Kerry, while the Leinster Geraldines, who lay along the frontiers of the English Pale, were presided over by the Earls of Kildare

In accordance with this new policy, **Garrett or Gerald Fitzgerald, the Eighth Earl of Kildare,** was appointed

Deputy in 1496. He had taken part in the Simnel conspiracy, and had been attainted by Poynings' Parliament for his support of Perkin Warbeck; yet he had so great an influence with both nobles and chiefs that if his loyalty could be secured his services would be invaluable. The new experiment was at first a complete success. Kildare was an able man, though hardly a statesman, and he saw that his power in Ireland would be greatly increased if joined to that of the Crown. He carried the English arms far and wide among the Celts, and though his expeditions were often the result of his private quarrels, this mattered little to the government as long as he acted as the representative of English authority. His greatest exploit was the defeat of the tribes of Munster and Connaught at the **Battle of Knockdoe** in 1504, for this great victory did more towards restoring English prestige in Ireland than any event which had happened for a very long time. In 1513 '**The Great Earl**,' as he was called, was killed in a raid against one of the tribes, and was succeeded by his son, Garrett Oge or Young Gerald Fitzgerald.

Garrett Oge, as Lord Deputy, also conducted many expeditions against the tribes, and did good service for the Crown in Ireland. He was neither as able nor as tactful, however, as his father, and he was greatly hampered by the enmity of the Butlers, the hereditary foes of his house, who were continually forwarding complaints of his conduct to the English Court. He was charged, for instance, with enriching himself with the Crown revenues, marrying his daughters into hostile tribes, and interfering with the judges in their administration of the law. Some of these charges were doubtless true, and Kildare was twice summoned to England in order to make his defence. Twice he managed to hold his own with the King, but when it was discovered that he was dabbling in treason and

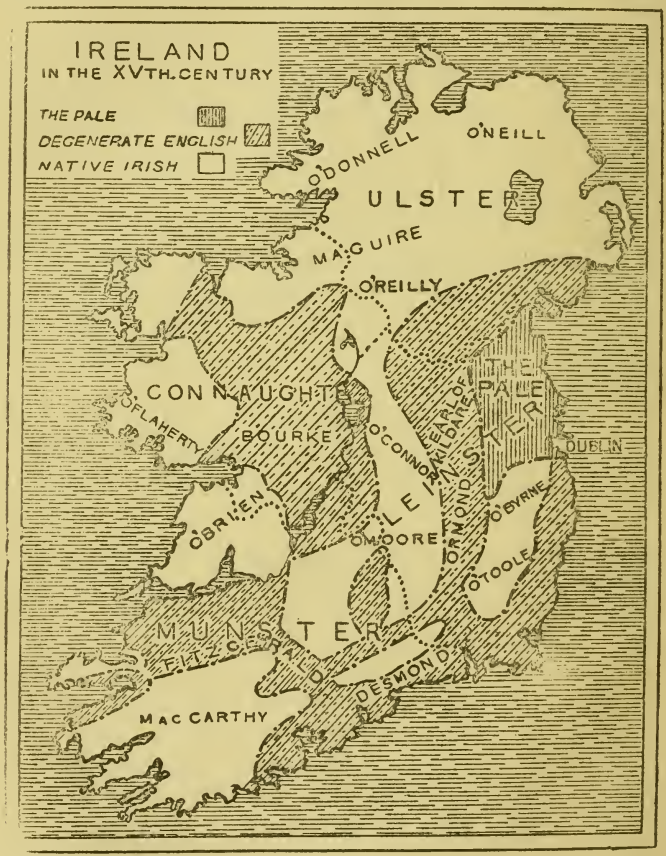
treating, through his cousin Desmond, with powers hostile to England, he was summoned a third time to London and sent to the Tower (1534).

The enemies of the Geraldines now caused rumours of his execution to be spread in Ireland, which so infuriated the son whom he had left as Deputy in Dublin during his absence that he broke into open rebellion. Riding through the city on the 11th June, **'Silken Thomas,'** as he was called from the fringes on the helmets of his followers, summoned the Council to St. Mary's Abbey, and there publicly renounced his allegiance.

At this juncture **Garrett Oge** died in the Tower; he too had probably contemplated rebellion, for before leaving Ireland he had conveyed great stores of arms and ammunition from Dublin to his various strongholds. The chief of these was the Castle of Maynooth, into which his son now threw a large garrison.

The rebellion became serious. The Royalist Archbishop Allen was murdered in an attempt to escape to England. Lord Thomas, now Earl of Kildare, harried the Pale, and laid siege to Dublin Castle; he sent envoys to implore the aid of the Emperor and of the Pope, and he offered to divide Ireland with the Butlers. The citizens of Dublin, however, chased his undisciplined forces from their walls. Ormond replied to his suggestions by invading his territories, and reinforcements arrived from England. With the aid of heavy artillery, used now for the first time in Ireland, **Sir William Skeffington**, on March 23rd, 1535, battered down the walls of Maynooth, and slaughtered the garrison. Kildare's Celtic allies fell away from him, and in a few weeks' time he was forced to surrender. This ended the rebellion. He was conveyed to England with five of his uncles who had been treacherously arrested at a banquet, and after eighteen months' imprisonment they were all executed.

This struck a final blow at the great power of the House of Kildare, and through it at the whole Anglo-Norman faction in Ireland. It was now clearly seen that Ireland could not be ruled from within, and as the English colony



had almost disappeared, only two courses of action were still open to the English Crown. Either Ireland must be abandoned altogether, or a new conquest of the country must be speedily undertaken.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TUDOR CONQUEST AND THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

1. A NEW POLICY IN IRELAND.

By the end of the fifteenth century the Middle Ages were over. The old ideas of Church and State were passing away, the great power of the Papacy was waning, and nations with strong national feelings were taking the place of the old mediæval Empire. In each of the chief countries of Europe feudal disorder was disappearing, and a great middle class was coming into existence whose main desire was for commercial development. These causes brought about the erection of strong monarchies, the Kings of the sixteenth century being allowed by their subjects a great deal of power in return for a strong rule which secured unity and order at home, and permitted of colonization or wars of conquest abroad. France developed in this way under the Bourbons, Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, and England under the Tudors.

At first the English were clear of wars on the Continent, and their Kings devoted themselves to setting their house in order after the Wars of the Roses. As the century progressed, however, **England became involved in European politics** and in a tremendous struggle with Spain, the greatest power of that age. Ireland grew to be a serious problem from the military point of view, and one which demanded instant attention. Chiefs such as Desmond had begun to intrigue with foreign powers,

and it was clearly seen that as Ireland was England's weakest spot, foreign troops might be landed there at any time, the support of natives or colonists gained, and the country used as a base for an English invasion. If England, therefore, wished to secure her safety and complete her defences, she must not allow Irish affairs to drift any longer, but must secure the loyalty of her people, and unite them firmly under her own government.

Henry VIII. devised an entirely new method of dealing with Ireland. The old policy of keeping the two races apart, which was embodied in the Statute of Kilkenny, was abandoned. The chiefs were to be conciliated and given a share in the government of their own country. The tribal system was not exactly abolished, but the heads of clans were to hold their lands from the King in the feudal way; they were to contribute certain sums to the government, and to renounce 'Black Rent' and other exactions. They were also to attend Parliament regularly, to conform as far as possible to English laws and habits, to send their sons to be educated at the English Court, and finally to acknowledge the King's supremacy over the Church, renouncing that of the Pope, and to confirm the new title of '**King of Ireland**' which Henry VIII. also wished to assume.* Negotiations were opened with each individual chief, large sums of money were distributed, and titles and honours were scattered broadcast. O'Neill of Ulster was created **Earl of Tyrone**, MacWilliam Burke of Connaught was made **Earl of Clanrickarde**, while O'Brien of Munster became **Earl of Thomond.**

The great advantage secured to the chiefs and the great bribe held out to them was of course the permanent possession of their estates. In this, however, the English repeated the mistake which they had made in the twelfth century. They had secured the allegiance of the chiefs, but

*Earlier Kings had only claimed the title *Dominus* (Lord) of Ireland.

they practically ignored the bulk of the native Irish, who persisted in regarding the tribal territory as their own. It was impossible to join together the feudal and the tribal systems. By English law, for instance, a man's son succeeded without question to his father's lands. By Irish custom a chief was not necessarily succeeded by his son, but by a 'Tanist,' or successor chosen by the tribe. Thus, on the death of a chief, it was possible that, while the Crown recognised the succession of his eldest son, the tribe might dispute the succession by upholding the claims of their tanist.

For a time Henry VIII.'s scheme worked smoothly. All the chiefs kept to their allegiance, the King's power was everywhere acknowledged, the royal sheriffs were obeyed, order was restored, the bogs and forests began to be traversed with roads, and agriculture to flourish. 'If only this same be continued but two descents,' declared the Deputy St. Leger, 'then is this land for ever reformed.'

The course of Tudor policy in Ireland was, however, unfortunately altered. England had presently to face a most serious situation on the Continent; a great Catholic League had been formed against her, and as the champion of Protestantism and of free expansion in the New World, she was soon engaged in a death-struggle with Spain. Had the Irish chiefs held to their allegiance in this great crisis in English History all would probably have been well. Three great native risings, however, followed each other in succession. These were caused partly by the conflict already mentioned between English and native law, partly by the introduction of the Reformation and hostility aroused by the destruction of the monasteries, but mainly by the ambition of the chiefs, whose aim was to secure their positions amongst their own people, and who were encouraged by promises of aid from English enemies

abroad. In view of these risings and these intrigues Elizabeth was forced to give up conciliatory measures, and cruel Wars of Conquest were begun. The Irish tribal system was broken, and the country was subdued for the first time in its history.

2. RISINGS OF THE NATIVE CHIEFS.

At this time, except for some English and recent Scotch settlements on the coast of Down and Antrim, the population of Ulster was entirely Irish. The two most important tribes were those of the O'Neills and the O'Donnells. The former occupied what is now Armagh, Tyrone, and part of Londonderry; the rule of the latter extended over Donegal. These two tribes, now that the power of the Geraldines was broken, were the most powerful in Ireland. They both claimed to be of Royal descent, and, like the Anglo-Norman families of Butler and Fitzgerald, had always been foes.

Con O'Neill was one of the chiefs who were won over by Henry VIII. In 1542, in return for acknowledging the King's supremacy, he was created Earl of Tyrone, and the succession to the lands of the O'Neill was secured to his eldest (but illegitimate) son, Mathew, who was at the same time created Baron of Dungannon.

Shane O'Neill,* however, a younger and legitimate son who had made a name for himself in raids against the Ulster Scots, and in feuds with the O'Donnells, was selected as 'Tanist' by the tribe, and soon a struggle began for the succession to the chieftainry. Con was chased from Ulster and Mathew was murdered. Shane thereupon received the title of 'The O'Neill' from his people, thus rejecting the Earldom conferred upon his father, and so defying the power of the English Government.

* Shane, or Seaghan, is the Irish for John. Pronounce Shawn.

This placed Queen Elizabeth in a difficulty. If she supported the claims of Brian, Mathew's son, in accordance with Henry VIII.'s agreement with Con, a rebellion of the O'Neills would follow. If, on the other hand, she recognised Shane, she was going back upon her father's policy, which might seem like an acknowledgment of English weakness. She finally decided to leave things alone; the Crown finances were very low, and Shane would, she thought, at least keep the O'Donnells in check, and so preserve a balance of power in the North.

Shane, however, was full of ambition, and he determined to make himself lord over Ulster. He gained a great deal of power, and adopted such a menacing attitude that in 1561 the Earl of Sussex proceeded against him. Shane could not be forced to any definite engagement, wore out Sussex's army, and captured the chief of the O'Donnells, who had allied himself with the English.

At length he was persuaded to come to terms, and as he would treat with none other than the Queen herself, it was decided that he should come to court in person. He arrived in London with his Celtic train in January, 1562, made his submission, and told the Queen that he had been selected as Con's successor by the clan. 'He had no estate in that which he surrendered but for life,' he explained, 'nor could he surrender it without the consent of the nobility and people by whom he was elected to the honour of the O'Neill.' The custom of 'Tanistry,' however, seemed as curious to the English courtiers as Shane himself, with his huge galloglasses, clad as he was in a sweeping saffron mantle, his hair long in the native fashion, his gestures violent, and his Irish speech sounding so strangely in their ears that one of them scornfully compared it to the howling of a dog.

The Irish chieftain, however, was not a fool. While he was detained at the English Court on various pretexts,

he was observing English ways and keeping his ears open. He heard, for instance, that Mary Queen of Scots was at the head of a great Catholic conspiracy for winning the throne from Elizabeth, and he entered into intrigues with the Spanish Ambassador.

Elizabeth, at this time, was fully occupied by a war with France, and as disturbances were beginning to break out in Ulster, Shane was allowed to return with a promise to reduce the Scots and keep the O'Donnells in check.

Once again in Ireland he took no trouble to conceal his ambition. He subdued the Maguires and O'Reillys, attacked the O'Donnells, and began to threaten the English settlements. In view of the danger from Scotland another truce was patched up with him in 1563, and his title of 'The O'Neill' was formally acknowledged.

Up to this Shane had shown intelligence and some prudence, but he now appears as the typical Celtic chief who cannot look beyond himself and his own clan, who has little foresight, and no thought for his country as a whole. Instead of joining with the O'Donnells and the Scots, who had lately settled in Antrim, in a solid alliance against the English, he turned against both and tried to crush them. The rest of his conduct was equally foolish. He marched into Connaught to exact the tribute which had been paid of old to the Irish Kings; he ravaged several English settlements, and openly mocked at the government in Dublin. He also carried on a traitorous correspondence not only with Mary Queen of Scots and the Earl of Argyll, but with the French King, Charles IX, and with the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Elizabeth resolved to crush him as her father had crushed Kildare. He was proclaimed a traitor in August, 1566, and Sir Henry Sydney, with a large force, invaded Tyrone. Many of the Northern chiefs were gained over by the English, with the result that Shane was

defeated by the O'Donnells in May, 1567. His followers quickly dispersed, and flying for refuge to his old enemies the Scots, he met his death in their camp. His head was sent in a napkin to the Deputy and stuck in triumph over the gate of Dublin Castle.

Shane's aims have already been stated; he had no idea of uniting his countrymen against England; he simply wished to make himself supreme in Ulster. He cared as little for the other Irish chiefs as they for him, the result being that it was a case of dog eating dog, and the lion devouring both. He had ability as a soldier, and was able to hold his own in intrigue and at the court of Elizabeth, and he had made the greatest and most protracted resistance to the English ever yet made by a purely Celtic chief. Personally he was cruel, tyrannical, savage, and unscrupulous. He murdered his rivals and did not keep his word. In the sixteenth century, however, there was little honour among statesmen, and even the Deputy Sussex had conspired to take his life, and on one occasion sent him a present of poisoned wine. As for his relations with France, Spain, and the Pope, none of them really cared for Irish interests, but merely used him as a means of annoyance to England, upon whom they were not yet prepared to declare open war.

Shane's rebellion had cost Elizabeth more than £147,000 and over 3,500 men, and though the claims of his kinsman were recognised as Tanist in preference to those of the Baron of Dungannon, the English Government had clearly got the upper hand. This is seen by the establishment in 1569 of local Deputies with military powers called 'Presidents,' whose functions were not only to administer justice, but to keep down the Celts.

The next important rising was that of the **Earl of Desmond** and of his cousin **James Maurice Fitzgerald.** Since the rebellion of 'Silken Thomas' the Geraldines

felt that the Government was bent on their destruction, especially since Elizabeth had taken the side of the Butlers, their old enemies. They turned their eyes, therefore, towards the foreign foes of England, the members of the great Catholic League. Maurice Fitzgerald first sought the aid of Philip of Spain, who was not yet prepared, however, for open war. He then turned to the Pope, Gregory XIII., who gave him some ships and several hundred men under the command of an English buccaneer named Stukely. This rascal carried off the whole expedition on a raid of plunder to the north coast of Africa, and never reached Ireland.

Fitzgerald himself, with a crew of foreigners and some friars, amongst whom was the celebrated divine, Dr. Sanders who acted as treasurer to the expedition, landed in Kerry in July, 1579. He called upon the Irish to rise, and the country was ripe for rebellion. A rising of the Burkes of Connaught had just been put down with great cruelty, and the confiscation of the lands of the O'Moores and O'Connors, in what are now King's and Queen's Counties, had caused much discontent.

Gerald, the fifteenth and last Earl of Desmond, hesitated at first, but at length threw in his lot with the rebels—and as Fitzgerald had met his death in a skirmish with one of the chiefs of Connaught, he assumed command of the rising. A gigantic insurrection then blazed forth amongst the Geraldines all over Munster. Ormond and Sir William Pelham advanced to crush the revolt. This was no easy matter. The English soldiers were disciplined, and well armed with firelocks, but parts of Munster were covered with vast forests in which the natives lay in ambush and harassed their progress.

We must remember that wars of conquest and the crushing of revolts were in these times carried on with great ferocity. The Huguenots were crushed in France with the

utmost brutality; Alva, the general of Philip of Spain, put down the rebels in the Netherlands with great cruelty, and later in the next century the generals of all nations in the Thirty Years' War in Germany sacked towns and massacred the inhabitants. The English in Ireland had the same notions of warfare as were common to their age. The Desmond fortresses were sacked, the garrisons were often flung from the battlements, the woods and crops were set on fire, the soldiers committed frightful cruelties. No Irish soldier was promised quarter until he had brought with him an Irishman's head; this shows the savage spirit of the war. The natives retaliated as far as they could. Desmond sacked Youghal and threatened Cork.

The English of the Pale now burst into revolt, being indignant at another of those taxes which had been laid upon them without their consent. Under **Lord Baltinglass** they defeated the Deputy, Lord Grey de Wilton, at Glenmalure in County Wicklow, but the rising soon died down, and Baltinglass and the other leaders fled abroad.

Philip of Spain now sent some aid to the Munster rebels. In October, 1580, a number of Spaniards landed at **Smerwick** Harbour in Kerry. The old fort which they occupied was soon surrounded by the Deputy's forces; they had to surrender, and 600 of them were slaughtered.

The war in Munster still dragged on. Dr. Sanders was killed and others fled the country. Desmond himself fled from place to place with a price upon his head, and was finally taken and slain. The frightful state of famine and misery to which the natives were reduced has been described by the English poet, Edmund Spenser, who came over to Ireland in 1580 as the Secretary of Lord Grey. 'Out of every corner of the woods and glens,' he says, 'they came creeping forth upon their hands,

for their legs could not bear them ; they looked anatomies of death ; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves ; they did eat of the carrions, happy when they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves ; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithal ; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man or beast.'

Religious feeling played some part in this Munster rebellion, but its chief cause was the dissatisfaction of the remnant of the Geraldines at their sunken position and diminished power. The net result was the confiscation of the Desmond estates by the Crown and the destruction of the clans in Munster.

Shane O'Neill was succeeded as head of his clan by his cousin Turlough. **Hugh O'Neill,** the second son of Mathew Baron of Dungannon, was thus disregarded, but as his father had always been on the side of the Government, he was taken under the protection of the state, and sent to be educated at the court of Elizabeth. He returned to Ireland as the commander of an English troop of horse, and took an active part in the Desmond war.

The Government were always suspicious of the power of the O'Neills, and so decided to support Hugh in opposition to Turlough, for it was thought that if the two went to war neither of them would be then strong enough to attack the English. In 1585 Hugh was made Earl of Tyrone, and on the death of Turlough the tribesmen elected him as chief, giving him the title of ' The O'Neill.' This changed the attitude of the Government towards him. By accepting the old tribal title he might, it was felt, lay claim at any time to the Lordship of Ulster and follow in Shane's footsteps.

Hugh's position was a difficult one. He had a private quarrel with Sir Henry Bagenal and other English officials, who did all they could to rouse up the Government against him. He saw he could not at the same time keep loyal and hold his position among his own people. He determined, therefore, to work against the English. His education at a civilised court and in the midst of politicians now stood him in good stead. He was a far better statesman than Shane. He saw that the Irish must be united to make a successful war upon the English, and that foreign aid was also necessary. He allied with the O'Donnells, and instead of crushing the other Ulster tribes, he won over the chiefs, and built up a great League of the North. He stirred up the natives of Connaught, and he entered into relations with the malcontents of the Pale and those who had survived in Munster after the Desmond rebellion. He sent envoys to Rome and Madrid. He plundered the English settlements of Cavan. He defeated the troops sent over under Sir John Norris in 1595.

Besides statesmanship, O'Neill had also learned the English arts of war. He drilled and disciplined his soldiers in the English fashion, and bought arms and ammunition from Spain. In the summer of 1598 he laid siege to a fort named Portmore, near Armagh, and when Bagenal marched to its relief with 5,000 men, he entrenched himself at a place called the **Yellow Ford,** on the river Callan, about two miles from the town. He here made elaborate preparations for a fixed battle, placed an ambush, dug holes in front of his position, and made trenches and hedges of thorns. On the 14th August Bagenal's forces advanced to meet him over this dangerous ground, and found themselves attacked both in front and behind. The English lost their commander and about half their men. They were so completely routed that they left all their guns, baggage, and colours in the hands of the Irish.

Portmore, Monaghan, and Armagh then surrendered to O'Neill, which left all Ulster in his hands with the exception of Carrickfergus. He went south and raised another rebellion in Munster. The Desmond castles were recovered; Leinster and Connaught burst into revolt. All Ireland, except Dublin and a few garrison towns, were then held by the rebels, who now had about 18,000 men under arms.

This was the first time that any united attempt had been made against the Government, and it was seen that if foreign aid were to arrive the English would surely be driven into the sea. In the spring, therefore, of 1599 Elizabeth sent over the **Earl of Essex**, who had made a great reputation in an expedition against Spain, with the largest army which had ever been seen in Ireland. Essex should have struck first at Ulster and at the power of O'Neill, but he was foolishly persuaded by the Dublin Council, who had estates in the south, to march into Munster. His army melted away in the guerrilla warfare carried on by the natives, and he was defeated by the O'Moores and the O'Connors on the borders of the Pale. The Queen, enraged at his failure, commanded Essex to march north without further delay. In August, 1599, he, therefore, proceeded to Ulster. With his sadly diminished army he did not dare to attack O'Neill, now at the height of his power, and so arranged a meeting with him. At this conference a truce was arranged, in which the Irishman got the better terms.

In February, 1600, the young but experienced soldier, Charles Blount, **Lord Mountjoy**, was sent over. He remodelled the few English troops, raised large Irish levies, and increased the garrisons and forts all over the country. These served as retreats for his soldiers, and as points from which to devastate the country. The same methods were pursued as in the Desmond rising.

Sir George Carew, the President of Munster, crushed the rebellion in the southern provinces, while Mountjoy burnt the crops and slaughtered the inhabitants of Ulster.

The long-expected aid from Spain now at last arrived. On the 23rd September, 1601, a Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Juan de Aguila, reached Kinsale with 3,400 troops. They took possession of the town and summoned the northern chiefs to their aid. Had the Spaniards landed in the north they would have had a greater chance of success, but they were afraid of those rocky coasts upon which so many ships of the Armada had been wrecked. O'Neill and O'Donnell, however, marched rapidly south. Mountjoy and Carew had by this time joined forces. They blockaded Kinsale on the north and filled the harbour with their ships. O'Neill was for starving the English out, but O'Donnell, who was an inferior general, wished for an immediate action. On the 24th December, 1601, a night attack was made, but as the English had been forewarned, and as the Spaniards failed to co-operate, the Irish were completely routed. The chiefs hastened back to the north, Kinsale surrendered, and the Spaniards were allowed to depart.

Philip was disgusted with the failure of his enterprise and no more help could, therefore, be expected from abroad. O'Neill was gradually hemmed in, and as the chiefs deserted him one after another, he saw that it would be madness to continue in revolt. He, therefore, made his submission. He was allowed to retain his lands and his earldom, but not the coveted title of 'The O'Neill.' He had also to promise to introduce English laws and customs into Tyrone, and to abandon all intrigues with foreign powers.

Thus the great rebel, Hugh O'Neill, had once more become a servant of the Crown. His position in Ireland as such soon became impossible. He quarrelled with

his vassals, some of whom now claimed to hold their lands direct from the Crown ; he was suspected by the Government, which was always in dread of a Spanish invasion or a Catholic plot, and those English officials who had hoped to gain from the forfeiture of his estates plainly showed their dissatisfaction. Rory O'Donnell, who had also submitted and been created the Earl of Tirconnell, was in a similar position.

In 1607 matters were brought to a crisis by a report invented by their enemies of a conspiracy in which the two Earls were supposed to have taken part. They decided to leave the country, and on the 14th September embarked with their families from the shore of Lough Swilly. After various wanderings they finally settled in Rome, where they lived in receipt of pensions from the Pope and the King of Spain.

After the **'Flight of the Earls'** their estates were confiscated, and when the short-lived rising in the north of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty had been put down in July, 1608, the English Crown was absolutely supreme in Ireland.

3. THE PLANTATIONS.

As we have seen, the English undertook the conquest of Ireland in the sixteenth century in order to make themselves secure from other nations. Once conquered, the problem was how to keep the country in subjection. The more recent English settlements in Ireland had generally been very small or very feeble, and the rest of the country had been torn between the Anglo-Irish and the Celts. Ireland was in the same condition as England might have been had she been half conquered by a foreign king, and then half governed from abroad. There was no Irish nation, and no central government, but only separate and independent tribes. In the circumstances,

having no standing army, and very little money, the Crown decided to dispossess some of the natives, and to plant colonies or garrisons in various parts of the country, as the best and cheapest way of controlling it. The rebellions which took place at various times gave the opportunity for confiscation of estates.

The first plantation was that of **Leix** and **Offaly**. These lands belonged to the O'Connors and the O'Moores, whose chiefs were always breaking into rebellion and menacing the Pale. They had come to terms with Henry VIII., but on his death they became dissatisfied with the government, and threw off their allegiance. Their land was laid waste, their tribes scattered, and the chiefs themselves sent over to England. The lands were not definitely settled till Mary's reign, when an Act converted them into shires as King's and Queen's Counties, with chief boroughs or forts at Philipstown and Maryborough.* The land was to be divided between the English and Irish, and the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, was ordered to distribute estates. In 1563 a number of plots of from 300—400 acres were granted to forty gentlemen of the Pale and to a number of loyal Irish, on condition that fords, highways, and churches should be built, and that English law and customs should prevail.

This plantation was not at first a success. The country was not properly conquered at the time, and the English settlers had to fight both to get their lands and then to hold them. Within fifty years the original inhabitants made no less than eighteen attempts to regain their old homes, and as each attempt failed new confiscations were made and new colonies planted. A continual warfare thus went on, in which the natives were gradually dispossessed, but many of them remained as ploughmen or farm servants on the lands which had once been theirs.

* Named after Queen Mary and her consort, Philip II. of Spain.

By 1622 the woods and bogs had been reclaimed and the country studded with English farms. The plantation could now be looked upon as a success, but only after years of suffering on both sides and at the price of injustice and cruelty to the natives.

The **Plantation of Munster** was carried out after the great Desmond rising, when the vast estates of the Earl of Desmond and 140 of his followers were confiscated by the Crown. The lands, which comprised about half-a-million acres, were parcelled out in 1586 into lots of 12,000, 8,000, 6,000 and 4,000 acres. The Undertakers, or those who 'undertook' to plant, were to bring over so many farmers and freeholders from England according to the size of their holding. Forts and houses were to be built, and horsemen and foot-soldiers were to be held in readiness if the natives threatened an attack. As the plan of mixing English and Irish settlers in Leix and Offaly was seen to be a failure, the natives were ordered to leave the plains and go into the hills. No one was to have Irish tenants, the heads of each family were to be English, and English women were not to marry amongst the Irish.

Despite all precautions this plantation was also a failure. There were many disputes about boundaries, for no one knew exactly where his lands lay. Many of the settlers never visited their estates and left them to agents, looking upon them only as a means of making money. The government also failed to bring over a sufficient number of English colonists, so that, despite the rules of the plantation, the undertakers sublet their lands to Irish tenants. Thus many Irish, as in Leix and Offaly, remained on their old estates in a subordinate position, and nursed angry feelings against those who had taken their lands from them.

The most important and successful of the Plantations of this period was the **Plantation of Ulster,** undertaken

after the 'flight of the Earls,' early in James I.'s reign (1609–1611).

The confiscated lands lay in the six counties of Donegal, Coleraine, Tyrone, Armagh, Cavan, and Fermanagh, and included over 3,000,000 acres.

There were to be three kinds of tenants in the lands chosen for settlement, roughly 500,000 acres,—(1) English or Scotch, who were to plant with English or Scotch families; (2) 'Servitors,' or military and civil officials of the government, who were to plant also with English and Scotch, but might for an increased rent sublet to Irish tenants; (3) the native Irish, who were to become free-holders under the Crown. The English and Scotch planters got about 160,000 acres between them, which they paid for at the rate of £5. 6s. 8d. per 1,000 acres. The rent paid by those servitors who sublet to Irishmen was £8. per every 1,000 acres, while the Irish tenants, who only received one-tenth of the whole Plantation, had to pay at the higher rate of £10. 13s. 4d. What was left went to the Crown and the Church, while Trinity College, Dublin, founded in 1591, and already endowed by Queen Elizabeth from confiscated lands in the South, received 9,600 acres.*

The conditions for planters were as follows:—The holders of 2,000 acres were to build upon their lands a castle with a strong 'bawn' or enclosure for cattle; those who held 1,500 acres a strong stone or brick house with a bawn, and those holding 1,000 acres at least a bawn. All had to keep and train men for their defence. To avoid the mistakes made in the previous plantations the lands were divided by lot to prevent quarrelling. It was also enacted that no undertaker was to alienate his lot to an Irishman, and all were within five years to reside in person

* The question of the extent of the original forfeitures, and of the lands actually settled, in this and the other Plantations, has not been sufficiently investigated up to the present.

on their estates. The English and Irish were planted in different quarters.

It must be noted that the Government treated the map of Ulster as if it were a sheet of blank paper. They disregarded the rights of the tribesmen, and gave each undertaker his lands under the terms of English law. The Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, had not at all approved of this plan. He wished that the natives might convert their tribal ownership into individual freeholds under the Crown, and that what was over should then be granted to the colonists. This would have been a fairer and most certainly a wiser policy, for the natives would have had everything to lose by a rising, and so might have remained loyal. The English lawyers, however, made light of the Brehon law, and not only gave a very small part of the confiscated lands back to the natives at a very high rent, but banished the bulk of them to the bogs and forests to make room for the English and Scots. The result was that the Irish had nothing to lose by a rising, but everything to gain, and they did rise at the very earliest opportunity.

As soon as the Plantation began to be carried out, it was found that the original scheme was impossible. An insufficient number of colonists came over, and the undertakers had to sublet to Irish tenants and employ Irish labourers to do the work of their farms. The consequence was that within the space of twenty years there were actually more Irish than colonists in the planted counties. Many of the undertakers, like those of Munster, were also non-resident. They sold their claims or made profit out of them without giving anything in return.

The most numerous settlers were the Scots, and it is to them that the later prosperity of Ulster is due. The Church policy of the early Stuarts and their insistency on the power of bishops led many Presbyterians to settle

in Ulster, who covered the land with houses, schools and mills, persuaded the natives to work for them, and gained over many English settlers to their Church.

In 1609 some London Companies undertook to plant Coleraine, and fortified and rebuilt the old city of Derry, henceforth named London-Derry. The part played by London in the plantation of Ulster was very important, for it prevented the Government from losing sight of the interests of the colonists, as it might otherwise have done.

4. THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND.

The causes which produced the Reformation in England and on the Continent did not exist in Ireland. There were no heavy Papal taxes to rouse a spirit of opposition to Rome. There was no great revival of learning or output of books to foster criticism or lead men to think for themselves. There was no strong national feeling which demanded independence in religion as well as in politics. Ireland was so cut off from the rest of Europe that her people were not influenced by Luther's preaching, and the wars with which she had been occupied for so long gave them little time for religious thinking, or indeed for thinking of any sort.

The hostility between the English and Irish could not be overcome by the profession of a common religion. By the Statute of Kilkenny, no Irishman was allowed to join an English monastery, and, similarly, several of the Irish religious houses refused to accept English novices or to obey English superiors.

The monasteries were no longer so remarkable for the sanctity and learning of their inmates as they once had been. Some of the clergy, both Irish and English, took sides in the wars, and the religious houses suffered in consequence. Though the 15th century witnessed a great architectural revival in Ireland, at least in regard to ecclesiastical buildings, yet, owing to the general unrest

and the neglect of the lay patrons, many of the churches were dilapidated. It is said, for instance, that the altar at Ardagh was exposed to the open air, and that the Cathedral of Tuam had been used as a barracks for more than 300 years, while in 1525 the Earl of Kildare informed the King that the churches in Kilkenny and Tipperary were in such a state of decay that no divine service was held there, and 'if the King's grace do not provide a remedy,' he says, 'there is like to be no more Christentie there than in the midst of Turkey.' But these reports are probably exaggerated, and it would doubtless be incorrect to regard them as applicable to the rest of the country.

The **Reformation in England** and the separation of the English Church from Rome was caused by Henry VIII.'s desire to divorce his Queen, Katherine of Aragon, against the wishes of the Pope. The people at large had but little voice in the change. Wycliff and the Lollards had long preached reform doctrines, and had attacked the authority of the Pope, and their campaign could not have failed to produce some effects. Henry VIII., by the **Act of Supremacy**, declared himself 'Head of the Church of England.' The Bishops were put under the Crown; the King took the first-fruits and twentieths of all benefices, formerly payable to the Pope. The monasteries were dissolved, and their property confiscated. But, except for the rejection of Papal supremacy, no change was introduced. When the influence of foreign reformers, however, began to be more felt under Edward VI., the Mass was abolished, together with some of the sacraments, the churches were stripped of their ornaments, and a Book of Common Prayer written in English was introduced. Queen Mary brought the Church back to subjection to Rome, while Elizabeth restored Henry VIII.'s policy, re-established the royal authority over the Church, forbade the Mass and the old ceremonies, and by the **Act of Uni-**

formity made the Prayer Book compulsory and also the Oath of Supremacy.

Religious toleration is quite a modern notion, and we must bear this carefully in mind. In those days it was thought that in one State there should only be one Church, and that is why there were so many civil wars of religion on the Continent, so much persecution of heretics, and so many martyrdoms and risings. Heresy was regarded as a political much more than a theological danger, and it was determined, as a matter of course, that, as England had accepted the Reformation, it should be extended also to Ireland.

In 1535 George Browne was appointed Archbishop in Dublin to carry out the King's wishes, and a Parliament, summoned in 1536, and representing the Pale, was induced after some difficulty to accept the religious innovation. Shortly afterwards, as in England, the Irish monasteries—about 400 in all—were dissolved. Their property was taken over by the Crown and their lands granted or sold to towns, nobles, Irish chiefs, and members of the King's Council in Dublin. As the Normans had originally founded part of their claim to Ireland upon Adrian's Bull, in 1541 Henry VIII. took the title of 'King of Ireland' in order to show that he now considered himself as King in his own right.

These changes made little impression on the great mass of the people. The meaning of the title which the King had taken was not understood, and in the native districts many of the monasteries remained standing and the old services were carried on as before. The Irish chiefs, to judge by their actions, were not very devoted to their religion, and were not unwilling to share in the plunder of the monasteries. Shane O'Neill, for example, though he had made a great display of attending Mass in London, found himself in conflict with Archbishop Creagh of Armagh, while the eighth Earl of Kildare had burnt Cashel

Cathedral, and, it is said, excused himself to Henry VII. by affirming that he only did it because he thought the Archbishop was within.

Under Edward VI. the English measures were again introduced into Ireland. The Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, proclaimed that the Liturgy was to be read in English, and that the religious pictures and images in the churches were to be removed. This last enactment was very unpopular. An image of the Virgin at Trim, which was supposed to work miracles, was destroyed; the crozier with which St. Patrick was said to have banished the snakes was burnt; a holy cross which was much reverenced in Tipperary was taken away, and the beautiful Abbey of Clonmacnoise was razed to the ground, and various other churches and shrines pillaged by the soldiers. Still there were no great risings as in England, for the people were powerless as long as their leaders were not united.

In 1560, at a Parliament summoned in Dublin, the church policy of Elizabeth was confirmed—that is to say, the Act of Uniformity and the Oath of Supremacy were made to apply to Ireland; also the system of fines for non-attendance at church, though often there was no church to attend.

It has been pointed out that in the reign of Henry VIII. the Irish took little notice of royal supremacy, but in the days of Elizabeth matters were entirely different. The expulsion of the clergy from the churches had shown clearly that grave changes were being undertaken. The people became more determined in their resistance to the religion that the English Government tried to force upon them, and the action of Pius V., in excommunicating Elizabeth and releasing her subjects from their allegiance, strengthened them in their opposition.

Ireland at the time also came under the influence of the Counter-Reformation. The Counter-Reformation was

a movement within the Roman Catholic Church itself, first for reform, and secondly to recover the losses inflicted upon the Church and her possessions by the Protestants. The Jesuits were the great missionaries of the movement, and Jesuit priests travelled all over Europe and as far as India and South America to extend the power of their Church. The Counter-Reformation was also a political movement; Philip II. of Spain constituted himself the great Catholic champion, though at the same time he had at heart as much the interests of Spain as those of the Catholic Church. Many of the clergy in Ireland looked to Philip II. for relief. One of them even declared that Philip intended with his army 'to overrun Ireland and make that realm his ladder or bridge into England.' In January, 1561, Pius IV. despatched the Irish Jesuit, David Wolfe, to serve in Ireland. He was to encourage the people to stand firm, and to bring about a league amongst the chieftains for the defence of the old religion. After this, friars and Jesuits flocked to Ireland and obtained influence over all classes. They established schools for the poor, urged the chiefs to rebel by telling them that they would lose their lands, and gained over the Catholic gentry of the Pale who were dissatisfied with the government. So great was their influence that in 1588, after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the leading citizens of Dublin refused to attend the Thanksgiving Service in Christ Church Cathedral, and in 1610 the same city—which had always been noted for its loyalty and strong English character—was described by an English traveller as a mere 'nest of Papists and ale-houses.'

The Counter-Reformation helped to arouse the religious enthusiasm of the Irish people, and the attempt of the English government to force the Reformation upon the people did more to unite them and bring them together into a nation than anything else which had ever happened in the country.

CHAPTER V.

THE REBELLION OF 1641 AND THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT.

1. THE INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH IDEAS.

Travellers in Ireland at this time all tell us that the people were still very primitive. They wore poor clothing and ate simple food. They lived in mud cabins, where they slept on the ground, and when they lit a fire on the hearth the smoke escaped out of the door or through a hole in the roof. Those settled on the tribe lands, which they still owned in common, tilled the ground, but their agriculture was so rude that their ploughs, for instance, were often tied to their horses' tails instead of yoking them in the English fashion. Many of them moved from place to place with their cattle, having no fixed home, but erecting huts of turf or boughs, in which they lived till the grass was eaten down, when they moved off to fresh pastures.

They were still ruled by their Brehon customs, to which they were extremely attached, and had the English enforced their law not only in the Pale but all over Ireland, the people would probably not have obeyed it. Throughout the middle ages, except for five families supposed to be descended from the royal races of Ireland, the bulk of the Irish were not allowed to sue freely in the English courts, nor to claim the full benefits of royal protection. That is to say, that they were looked upon as villeins or serfs who had no status in Feudal law.

This was the mediæval way of dealing with subject peoples. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Kings, from motives of prudence and of foreign policy, did everything to unite their subjects and bring them all under one system of government. The Irish were now the immediate subjects of the English Crown, and so it was natural, according to the ideas of the period, that **English Laws and Institutions** should be extended all over the country. **James I.** declared all the Irish his subjects; he introduced the English **Land System**; the tribal lands were divided into shires, and **Freehold Estates**, with a head rent to the Crown, were created, over which the owners had full control and the power of bequeathing them to their children. English **Courts** were established everywhere, and the **Jury System** was introduced. The old Brehon Law was abolished; the 'Erics' or fines were done away with; the practices of 'Tanistry' and 'Gavelkind' were forbidden.

It should be remembered that Ireland was very far behind England in civilization, and though all these changes were well meant, according to modern notions, it would have been better if they had been introduced gradually, and with the consent of the Irish themselves. The old tribal system had many faults, but instead of being completely swept away, its best features might have been preserved, and the Irish might have been taught in their own language the advantage of settled tenures and other English ideas concerning property and government. The new English civilization was not suitable to the needs of the people, who did not understand it, and who revolted against it. The poorer tribesmen had not been considered at all. Their share in the common lands had been taken away, and their new position of tenants-at-will was not at all to their liking.

As time went on fresh **confiscations and plantations**

were made, and for no other reason save that colonists or English adventurers wanted more land. Royal commissions were appointed, and a body of men sprang up called ' **Discoverers** ' who examined the titles to estates, some

of which went as far back as the Norman Conquest, and if the slightest flaw could be found in them the Crown promptly seized these lands for itself. This caused a

great feeling of insecurity, for no one knew when his own lands might be taken or upon what pretext.

The Roman Catholics were aggrieved by the fact that the Anglican Church was the only one recognised by law, and they became more and more hostile when they saw that the Oaths of Uniformity and Supremacy banned them from all offices and from practising in the Law Courts. Many of their churches were taken, they had to pay fines for non-attendance at the English services, and all priests were ordered to leave the country.

The interests both of old Anglo-Irish and natives were now neglected by the government in favour of those of the loyal Protestants of the new Plantations. James had created a number of **Boroughs** to return members to Parliament who would do as he wished; thus the Irish House of Commons was packed with royal nominees or members from the English Plantations or colonies.

All these grievances, and especially those connected with the land and with religion, led to the great rebellion of 1641.

2. THE 'GRACES.'

The Stuarts tried to rule as absolutely as the Tudors, but times had changed, and the people wanted more power. James I. and Charles I. also carried on very unpopular wars, and as they were afraid to summon their Parliaments too often, they were always distressed for money. In 1626, when a war with both France and Spain seemed likely, Charles saw that his army in Ireland should be increased. It was therefore suggested that the Irish Parliament (where there was a good deal of opposition to the Crown from the Anglo-Irish and Roman Catholics) should give a grant of money in return for certain privileges or 'graces.' In May, 1628, it was definitely agreed that the King should have £120,000 to support an army.

For this, among other concessions, a new oath of allegiance was substituted for the old Oath of Supremacy, and to set fears at rest about further plantations, the King's title to land was never to be set up where an owner's family had already been 60 years in possession.

A Parliament was called in 1629 to confirm the 'Graces,' but it never assembled, for the English Council declared that the King's licence under the Great Seal had not been given, and so Poynings' Law had been violated. Charles I. was held to have broken his word, and the discontent in Ireland steadily increased.

3. THE RULE OF WENTWORTH.

In 1632 Sir Thomas Wentworth was appointed Lord Deputy. He was a minister after Charles' own heart. Like Richelieu, the great French statesman, he put the royal service above every other interest, and wished to make the King absolute, and to rule himself as an absolute minister. He intended to make Ireland a source of strength and gain to the Crown; to raise money there which would make the King independent of Parliaments in England, and to build up an army which would be useful in any difficulty that might arise.

Though Wentworth was a despot, and his chief care was for the King, he thought of the Irish people also, and wished to rule for their good. He considered that Ireland was not fitted for the English institutions which had been lately introduced, and he did not think that the natives could rule themselves. He was a great believer in government, but government from above and in the hands of one person. In accordance with his scheme, he managed to raise the material prosperity of the country. He promoted the Linen industry in the North; he imported flax-seed from Holland; he brought over Flemish weavers, and caused mills to be erected. He arranged a

commercial treaty with Spain to encourage the fishing industry, and by placing ships to guard the coasts, he cleared the Channel of pirates, who were wont to prey on all ships passing to and fro, and so to hinder trade. At home he encouraged **Agriculture**, and tried to improve the breeds of cattle and preserve the forests. He insisted on a free export of hides and tallow, and though he suppressed the woollen industry, which was not of much importance at this time, he did more for **Irish Trade** than any other English governor had ever done. Under his administration taxation decreased, shipping improved, and the custom dues were four times as much as they had formerly been.

He paid much attention to the **Army**; he improved the men's discipline, and also the quality of arms and armour, and he raised the number of the forces from 2,400 to 9,000 men.

Like most absolute ministers, he believed in uniformity in religion, and so he introduced the High Church services and ceremonial which his friend Archbishop Laud had established in England. He restored churches which had fallen into disrepair, and gave back some church property which had been taken away by laymen. He offended both the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics by his strictness in church matters, but he cared little as long as his end was secured.

To gain money for the King he thought of carrying out **fresh plantations**, and, despite the promises which had been made, he wrung money out of the landowners and set up, often unjustly, the claims of the Crown. His chief method, however, of raising revenue was through the Irish Parliament itself. Charles I. was always opposed by his Parliaments in England, but Wentworth saw that the **Parliament in Dublin**, held down as it was by Poynings' Act, could not be dangerous to the King. On July 14th,

1634, a Parliament was summoned, and by dividing the sessions, one for supply, and the other for the redress of grievances, Wentworth was able to secure six subsidies, £270,000 in all. Once the money was voted nothing was said about the 'Graces.' The Roman Catholic members were enraged, but Wentworth secured a balance in his favour by urging all Protestant members to attend. This Parliament was dissolved in April, 1635.

Meanwhile, Charles I. was trying to rule without a Parliament in England, and raising money in all sorts of illegal ways. Archbishop Laud was hated for his church policy, which Charles soon tried to impose upon the Scots. This led to the signing of 'The Covenant' in Scotland in 1638, and the open rebellion which soon broke out. Charles was at his wits' end. He was now at enmity both with the Scots and with his own subjects. He looked to Wentworth for money and for troops.

In 1639 the Lord Deputy became **Earl of Strafford** and the chief adviser of the King. He summoned another Parliament in Dublin in March, 1640, and now managed the elections so that the Roman Catholics were the more powerful party. The Catholics hated the Scots and their religion, and so they decided to help the King. £180,000 was voted, and the army was increased and put in readiness for war. Charles' idea was to lean on the support of the Irish Roman Catholics and to use their aid against Protestant England and Scotland. He was forced, however, to come to humiliating terms with the Scots at Ripon; thus Strafford had shown the King's plans and collected an army to no purpose. The Long Parliament met in London on November 3rd, 1640, and he was summoned to stand his trial, which began in March, 1641. He was impeached on various charges, but the real grievance against him was his absolute government, and the fact that he had collected a large native Irish army for the King. He was beheaded in May, 1641.

His rule in Ireland had, on the whole, been a success. He had enforced order and secured obedience to English law. He had cleared off the Irish debt and increased the revenues, and he had carried out the other reforms which have already been mentioned. His whole government had depended on the King's support. It failed because of the weakness of Charles. When Strafford left Ireland there was nobody to continue his work, and the country fell back to its former state of dissatisfaction and disorder.

4. THE REBELLION OF 1641.

The explosion in Ireland which had been preparing for so long burst out in 1641. The King was in great difficulties with the English Parliament, and the Irish had before them the example of the Scots, who had just risen in defence of their religion. It was believed, too, that the Puritans, who had now got the upper hand in England, had plans for the rooting out of the Roman Catholic faith, and were also considering fresh confiscations.

A plot for a rebellion had been hatching in Ulster for some time. The leaders were nearly all the descendants of chiefs who had lost their lands through the various plantations. Among the most important were **Rory O'Moore,** the head of the tribe that had once held Queen's County; he was a noble and accomplished man, who, when the rising broke out, tried to unite all parties and repress violence; **Lord Maguire,** an extravagant young noble who was ready for any disturbance, and **Phelim O'Neill,** the leader in the north till the arrival of Owen Roe, nephew of the last Earl of Tyrone. It was determined to turn out the Protestant settlers, and regain the confiscated estates, also to secure freedom for the Roman Catholic faith and for the Parliament in Dublin. The plan was to seize Dublin Castle, with its stores of powder and arms, and then to rouse the Irish in Ulster to a general rebellion

The attack on the Castle was disclosed by an informer, and some of the leaders were taken, but on the 22nd October the **Rising in Ulster** began. The forts were seized and some of the towns captured. Houses belonging to Protestants were burnt and sacked, and many thousands of the colonists were driven from their homes. Their cattle, corn, furniture, and even their clothes, were taken, and many of them were murdered, while others perished from cold and hunger in the winter weather. The English troops soon appeared, and on their side were also guilty of great cruelties.

The rebellion now spread to other districts in Leinster and Munster which had been planted by the English. The old English and gentry of the Pale, who had at first held aloof, then threw in their lot with the rebels. As Roman Catholics they hated and feared the Puritans and also the new colonists who had taken their place. The Lords Justices in Dublin* had treated them with suspicion and had practically forbidden them to defend themselves.

By the beginning of 1642 there were four distinct parties in Ireland :—(1) **The Purely Irish Party**, the old Celts, backed by a great body of the clergy, who cared more for the complete freedom of their religion and the restoration of their lands than for the interests of the King ; (2) **The Old English Party**, or Anglo-Irish, who were loyal to England, but who wished for freedom for religious toleration, and for a Parliament in which they and not the new English would have the upper hand ; (3) **The Royalist Party**, mainly Protestants, who stood by the King ; (4) **The Puritan Party**, which was for the Parliament, and included the Presbyterians and Scots of Ulster.

The first party chose **Owen Roe O'Neill** for their general. He, like many other Irish exiles, had entered the Spanish

* Wandesford, Strafford's trusted deputy, had died suddenly in December, 1640, and the country was in the hands of two corrupt and incompetent Lords Justices, P[illegible]ons and Borlase.

service and had gained many years of training as a soldier in the Netherlands. The second party chose **Thomas Preston** as their leader; he had also served in the Netherlands, and was a son of the fourth Viscount Gormanston, one of the lords of the Pale. **The Earl of Ormond** led the Royalists, while the Parliamentarians in the North were commanded by the Scotsman, **General Munroe.**

The first two parties, though nominally united, differed radically in their aims, and soon began to diverge in policy. They managed, however, to keep together for a time, and a General Assembly of Confederate Catholics met at Kilkenny in October, 1642. **The Confederation of Kilkenny,** as it was called, was composed of members from every county and borough, and it was the first national assembly of the Irish that had ever been held. It created a Supreme Council to carry on the government and the war. It declared itself hostile to the Long Parliament in England, but stated its loyalty to the King and sent him a petition to consider Irish grievances.

Charles I. was in a very difficult position; he cared nothing for the Irish, but wanted to use the Irish army against his enemies in Scotland and England. If he came to terms with the Catholics, however, he would lose the little support which he still had at home. He determined, therefore, to bargain with the Irish, and carried on his negotiations through the Earl of Ormond.*

Meanwhile fighting was going on all over the country. Preston opposed the Royalists in Leinster, while Owen Roe was engaged with Munroe in the north. In September, 1643, a '**Cessation of Arms**' was arranged, and Charles, more anxious than ever to obtain an Irish army, in August, 1645, sent over the **Earl of Glamorgan** secretly to treat with the rebels. Glamorgan, unknown to Ormond, pledged the King to grant all the Confederate

* James Butler, 12th Earl and 1st Duke of Ormond (1610-1688).

demands and secured in return a promise for 10,000 men. In October, however, a copy of this treaty was found. The King professed to know nothing about it, but he was not believed, and his English subjects distrusted him more than ever.

In November, 1645, the Pope sent over Archbishop Rinuccini as Nuncio, with plenty of money and stores. The Archbishop cared for nothing except the Roman Catholic religion, and he was for continuing the war to secure for Catholics as many concessions as possible. The members of the Supreme Council, however, wished to make peace, for Charles had been beaten by the Parliament army at the Battle of Naseby, and they saw that it was hopeless to go on with the struggle. The Confederates, therefore, split into two parties. The Nuncio summoned Owen Roe to his aid, and calling a meeting of the clergy to Waterford, he created another Supreme Council, with himself as head.

On June 5th, 1646, Owen Roe crushed Munroe and the Scots at Benburb, on the northern Blackwater. This was the only great success of the Confederates in the war. Dublin was next attacked by the rebels, and as the King was now a prisoner, Ormond handed the city over to the Parliamentary Commissioners and left the country, July, 1647.

The King's cause, however, was revived owing to the quarrels of English parties amongst themselves. Ormond returned in September, 1648, and after the execution of Charles, January 30th, 1649, had his son proclaimed in Ireland as Charles II. In February, 1649, Rinuccini took his departure, for the success of the Parliament had united all parties under the Protestant Ormond. The Legate had hoped to secure the re-establishment of the Catholic religion as the State religion in Ireland, but he saw that this was impossible. Ormond, who had at last come to terms with Owen Roe, was now master of at least nine-tenths of Ireland, and he had 11,000 men under arms.

He was preparing, indeed, for a great expedition against the Parliamentary forces, when he was utterly defeated by their General, Michael Jones, at the Battle of Rathmines on August 2nd, 1649.

5. CROMWELL AND THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

A Commonwealth or Republic had just been established in England, and in order to crush out the Royalists it was necessary to subdue Ireland, where so many were now for the cause of the King. The Irish army was dreaded as in the days of Strafford, and Ireland could not be allowed to continue in a state of rebellion and to treat with foreigners just as she pleased.

In August, 1649, therefore, the great Parliamentary General, Oliver Cromwell, landed in Dublin with 12,000 men. He and his soldiers were Puritans; they hated the Irish, not only as rebels but as Catholics, and they professed to believe that it was God's will that they should extirpate Catholicism in Ireland.

Ormond had thrown his best troops into Drogheda under the royalist officer, Sir Arthur Aston. Cromwell, therefore, marched North and began to besiege Drogheda on the 3rd September. The town fell in a few days, and Cromwell ordered the English garrison to be slain. Priests were also murdered, women were thrown over the walls, and children were cruelly slaughtered. There is no doubt but that Cromwell and his soldiers were guilty of terrible cruelties, but we must remember, as in the days of Elizabeth, that war was carried on everywhere with great savagery. The French put down the Huguenots in the Cevennes just as cruelly, and all over Europe massacres took place, and many hundreds of people were even burnt as witches and magicians, though they had done no public wrong.

After the fall of Drogheda, Cromwell marched South, keeping to the coast, and attacked **Wexford**, which was the home of many of the pirates who roamed about the channel. The town soon fell, and the garrison here also was put to the sword. The Irish were thoroughly cowed by Cromwell's drastic methods, and town after town submitted. In the South, New Ross, Kilkenny, and Clonmel; in the North, Lisburn, Belfast, Trim, Dundalk, Carlingford, and Newry. Cromwell was a great general, and to this he owed his success, as well as to the fact that he allowed no marauding; his soldiers were always able to get supplies, for he made them pay for whatever they took from the people. The Irish, as usual, also began to quarrel among themselves. Had the old English and the natives held together they could have won good terms for the Irish Catholics from the English, weakened as England was by civil war; divided, they could do nothing for their cause.

On May 26th, 1650, Cromwell was called away by an expedition against Scotland. He left his son-in-law, **Ireton** behind to finish the conquest he had begun. The struggle dragged on for another two years. Ireton took Carlow, Waterford, and Duncannon, while Coote and Venables subdued the North. Soon the line of the Shannon was forced; **Limerick** fell after a long siege, and the capture of **Athlone** and then **Galway** put an end to the war.

The country was in a frightful condition. About one-third of the people had perished either in the wars or from famine and plague. The fields were desolate, corpses lay unburied, and packs of wolves prowled everywhere, even up to the walls of Dublin.

Ireland had again been dangerous to England in times of difficulty and war; nearly the whole of the Irish people had been in arms against the Commonwealth, and the

whole country was at last reduced to submission. Under these circumstances, Cromwell determined to drive out the native owners to make way for Puritan settlers. In 1642 the Long Parliament had already decreed the confiscation of the estates of the rebels, and in 1652 the Act for 'the settling of Ireland' proceeded to arrange for a settlement or plantation.

The **Cromwellian Settlement** was the largest that had ever been made. All those who had taken part in the war had their estates confiscated. **Ten counties** were set apart for new settlers in Waterford, Queen's and King's Counties, Limerick, Meath, Westmeath, Tipperary, Armagh, Down, and Antrim. Those who were to receive these lands at very low rents were chiefly (1) soldiers whose pay was in arrears, and (2) adventurers who had advanced money for the war. Thus, about **40,000 new owners were scattered over three-fourths of Ireland.** The details of the Settlement were arranged by the **Act of Satisfaction** passed in September, 1653, and **Sir William Petty** drew up a survey* for the government in order that the lots might be as fairly distributed as possible. The old Anglo-Irish and the natives were to be **transplanted** or exiled. The peasantry, who would be useful to the settlers, were in some parts allowed to remain, but the gentry and their families were ordered to move across the Shannon into Connaught and Clare, where small plots of waste lands were given to them. A number of English soldiers were settled in a fringe round the Western coast, so that the Irish were held in between the Shannon and the sea, and could receive no aid from abroad. Thus they would have little chance of success if they were again to rise. The towns, such as Waterford and Cork, were also cleared, and large bodies of Irish merchants went to the Continent.

*This was the celebrated 'Down Survey,' so called because it was measured 'down' on maps.

As in the case of the other Plantations, many of the old inhabitants clung to their old homes and were employed as servants by English masters. Many Catholics remained

under the protection of their English neighbours, the English soldiers married Irish women, and such a mixture of English and Irish took place that forty years later many children of the original settlers could speak no other tongue but Irish.

To get rid of the Irish army, about 30,000 men were allowed to leave the country, and these entered the service of France, Spain, and other nations. Many young and landless people were shipped off to the new English settlements in the West Indies, and all priests were ordered to take their departure. Many of them stayed at home, however, at the risk of their lives, and some of the soldiers, called 'Tories,' or outlaws, hid in the bogs and forests, and did their best to rob and murder the settlers and to destroy their property.

A strong government was at last set up in Ireland, law and order were maintained, and, as under Strafford, the wealth of the country rapidly increased. The English Protestants were now the most important part of the population—the old English and the Irish Catholics were looked upon as inferior and as of a different race. Their lands had been taken from them, and their religion had been proscribed. This gave them a common feeling and a common grievance, which gradually united them into a nation.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

1. THE RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS.

The English were tired of the rule of the Army, and on May 25th, 1660, **Charles II.** returned to England and was accepted without any opposition as King. This restoration of the Stuarts naturally raised the hopes of those in Ireland who had taken up arms for Charles I. They expected that the Cromwellian Settlement would be disallowed, and that their estates would be given back to them. The English people, however, were not prepared to consent to this; the soldiers and adventurers had been put in possession by an Act of Parliament, and the Protestants in both the English and Irish Parliaments did not wish to increase the power of the Irish Catholics, and so run the risk of another rebellion.

The King was in a difficult position between the various parties, and tried to conciliate each of them. In May, 1662, by the **Act of Settlement,** the possessions of the Cromwellian settlers were confirmed, but all dispossessed Catholics who could prove themselves "innocent" of any share in the war or the rebellion of 1641 were to be restored to their lands. In February, 1663, a **Court of Claims** was set up in Dublin to try the various cases; but so many began to prove their innocence that the settlers grew alarmed, and there was so much agitation and strife that the proceedings were stopped. In 1665, however, an **Act of Explanation** was passed, and by this the Crom-

wellian settlers agreed to give back one-third of the confiscated lands to those Irish who were supposed to be loyal. Thus, while before the Rebellion the Irish Catholics had two-thirds of the profitable land of Ireland, they now only held one-third, the rest being in the hands of the English Protestants.

On the whole, the reign of Charles II. was beneficial to Ireland. Ormond, who was Viceroy for the greater part of the time, maintained law and order. He formed a militia of Protestants, who acted as a local police; he encouraged the woollen and linen industries, and so managed the revenues that there was a surplus for the King. The Scottish and English settlers were good farmers, and so improved agriculture and trade. At this time both Dublin and Belfast grew in size, and fine private houses began to be built all over the country. The **Anglican Church**, however, which had suffered under the Commonwealth, was now upheld as the established Church, and, as in England, the Non-Conformists and Roman Catholics were allowed no freedom of worship. The idea that there should only be one Church in every state was still held all over Europe, and everywhere those of the state religion carried on a persecution against those who differed from them in belief. Cromwell's soldiers were Independents, while the Scots, of the various plantations, and those who had come over with Munroe and settled in Antrim and Down, belonged, like their brethren in Scotland, to the Presbyterian Church.

In 1667 Charles II. passed a new **Act of Uniformity** through the Irish Parliament. By this Act the English services were to be used in all churches, all persons holding church offices were to be ordained by a bishop, and 'The Covenant' was condemned as an unlawful oath. No Non-Anglican could accept these conditions. The Kirk sessions of the Presbyterians were condemned as unlawful

assemblies; their ministers were summoned to appear before the bishops and turned out of their livings. They were also forbidden to preach or exercise their ministry in public. The result was that many of them with their congregations left the country, some going to Scotland, but more to America, where all could worship as they pleased.

At first the Roman Catholics were unmolested, but owing to the great burst of indignation aroused in England by the concoctions of the infamous Titus Oates, who pretended that the Catholics had conspired to assassinate the King and place a Roman Catholic on the throne, Charles was forced to deal severely with them.

James II. succeeded his brother in 1685. His great aim, being a Roman Catholic himself, was to restore the Roman Catholic religion in England, and to rule as absolutely as Charles I. had done. He was a close ally of Louis XIV., the great King of France, and hoped, with his aid, to carry out his desires.

James looked upon Ireland in much the same way that Charles I. had done. He wanted the support of the Irish army and of the Irish Catholics, but cared little for the real interests of the country. He appointed Colonel Richard Talbot, a declared Roman Catholic, as Commander-in-Chief of the Irish forces, and in January, 1687, he created him Lord Deputy, with the title of **Earl of Tyrconnel.**

Tyrconnel, like Strafford or Ormond, proceeded to carry out the King's wishes in Ireland. He dismissed the Protestant militia which had been formed, and gradually disarmed all the Protestants. He replaced the Protestant officers in the army by Roman Catholics. He appointed some Catholic judges and sheriffs, and insisted on the admission of Roman Catholics to the corporations from which they had been excluded, and to the Privy Council. In fact, by the end of 1688 nearly all the **Civil and Military**

Power in Ireland was in the hands of the Roman Catholics. As Tyrconnel saw the King becoming more and more unpopular with his English subjects, he gave the Irish Catholics still more power, and did what he could to increase the army. He soon had 60,000 men enrolled as soldiers, and was able to send some 3,000 Irish troops to England during the autumn of 1688.

The English settlers had become very much alarmed; they feared that the Roman Catholics would regain all their lands, and a groundless rumour was put in circulation that there was to be a general massacre of Protestants. In the general state of unrest, some lawless persons were guilty of crimes such as the burning of houses and killing or stealing of sheep. The Irish soldiers were no better paid than any others of that time. Though a general order was issued to the troops by Tyrconnel, requiring them to pay for whatever they obtained from the inhabitants, to preserve the peace, to abstain from brawling, it was difficult to enforce discipline and to prevent individuals from plundering the houses of Protestant settlers. The priests as a body exhorted the people to stand by the King and Tyrconnel. Many of the colonists fled to England, some being glad to escape even in open boats across the channel, and others retired to their country houses, which they fortified with great care. The bulk of the Protestants left in the country, however, resolved to withdraw to the strong settlements of the North. Some took refuge in Enniskillen, while a great many went to Londonderry, which was now one of the most important towns in Ulster.

2. THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

THE RIVAL PARTIES.

The English grew gradually more and more disgusted with James. They had become firm Protestants, and disliked his illegal Declaration of Indulgences to those

of his own religion. They wished to keep the rights which they had won by the civil war, and so resented his tyrannical government. They also wished to be independent of the French, and to withstand the ambition of Louis XIV. These matters, upon which the King and the English Nation were in conflict, led to the great revolution of 1689. James was forced to leave his throne and flee to France, and the English offered the Crown to William of Orange, who had married Mary, the daughter of James, and who thus had some claim to the throne. From this time forward the English kings could not pretend, as the Stuarts had done, to hold power by any 'divine right,' but owed their thrones to the consent of Parliament. Hence, they could no longer act as they pleased, and by the Revolution Settlement (the Bill of Rights), English liberties were secured.

The war of the English Revolution was fought out in Ireland, where James made a last stand with the army that had been collected for him by Tyrconnel. As has already been said, James cared nothing for Ireland, but wished to use the Irish forces in order to regain his power in England. He was in alliance with Louis XIV., who wished to use the religious difficulties in England as a means of conquering Europe for France. His chief opponent was William of Orange, the leader of the Dutch, who headed a great Protestant Alliance against him on the Continent. Louis saw that if he supported James in Ireland, William, now that he was also King of England, would have to go there to fight, and so would be unable to oppose the French armies in the Netherlands. He therefore provided James with arms, money, and ammunition, in order that he might be able to carry on the war. King William, the leader of the allies, could not leave England with Ireland in

rebellion by her side, so, as Louis had hoped, he was forced to devote his attention to the Irish war. **The Irish Catholics,** though they declared for James, and were glad of French aid, had no other object than to regain the lands which they had lost. **The Colonists,** who, however, had mostly fled to England, were naturally for William, as his success meant the safety of Protestantism and of the English interest in Ireland.

3. THE IRISH PARLIAMENT OF 1689.

James landed at Kinsale on the 12th March, 1689, with a small army composed mainly of his own subjects, and with the arms, money, and ammunition which Louis XIV. had supplied. He was accompanied by a number of French officers sent over to discipline the Irish forces, amongst whom was the **Count D'Avaux,** who acted as the representative of the French King. All Ireland, except Ulster, was now in the hands of the natives. Tyrconnel therefore met him at Cork and escorted him in triumph to Dublin. He was received in the capital with great rejoicing. The Lord Mayor and other officers formed a procession with twenty coaches, soldiers were drawn up in the streets, bells were rung, cannons fired, and bands played, while a thanksgiving service was held in the Cathedral.

James first summoned a Parliament to meet on the 7th May, and then marched north. Tyrconnel had already tried to reduce the Protestants of Ulster before aid could reach them from England, and had appointed Richard Hamilton at the head of a large force for the purpose. When the news reached Londonderry, however, that a Jacobite army was going to occupy the town, and that the peasantry round were arming for a rising, though the authorities hesitated as to the proper course of action, the apprentices seized the keys and closed the gates in face of Tyrconnel's officers. On April 18th James himself

appeared before the walls, and though **Robert Lundy**, the Protestant Governor, thinking resistance hopeless, was ready to submit, the inhabitants rose up, and, taking possession of the walls, raised a loud cry of 'No Surrender,' which they accompanied by the firing of a gun. James had not expected any such resistance; he therefore returned to Dublin, leaving the French general, Maumont, in charge of the siege.

The Irish Parliament met on the 7th May, and, as we might expect, was mainly composed of Roman Catholics. The Protestants were either in arms against James, had fled to England, or were afraid to take part. In the House of Lords only four Protestant bishops made their appearance, and out of the hundred lay peers only fourteen obeyed the King's summons, of whom ten were Roman Catholics. Seventeen new Roman Catholic lords were then admitted. In the Lower House only six of the members were Protestants, the other two-hundred and thirty-two members being all descendants of those old Anglo-Irish or Celts who had lost their lands through the various settlements.

In judging the actions of this Parliament we must remember that it was summoned in a time of danger, when feeling, and especially religious feeling, ran very high, and, like the members of the first National Assembly in the French Revolution (who acted in very much the same way), the Irish Catholics had had no experience in politics, their religion having excluded them since the Restoration from sitting in the House of Commons or even serving as magistrates. It was natural that they should think only of their own grievances and desire to make a revolution which would restore to them their lands.

When they had confirmed James's title and declared William a usurper, they proceeded to pass a number of Acts, some of which were good and some bad. They

declared the independence of the Irish Parliament, and then repealed **the Acts of Settlement.** All those whose ancestors had held lands before the rebellion of 1641 were to be restored. Innocent purchasers of estates were to be compensated, but the descendants of the original settlers were not to be considered. **An Act of Attainder** was then passed, by which over two thousand Protestants were declared guilty of high treason if they did not return to Ireland upon a given day. As in the French Revolution, lists of those Protestants who were in arms or who had fled were drawn up. They were declared attainted unless they returned before a fixed date. Another Act, which was more to the credit of the Parliament, declared for the principle of **Religious Toleration.** Both Protestants and Catholics were to support their own clergy, and no minister was to be deprived either of his living or stipend. Other measures were passed for the improvement of Irish trade, and a monthly supply was voted for the army. James had, despite this grant, to issue a **Brass Coinage** in accordance with a very harmful practice of governments in those days. The real and the face or pretended value of his coins was something very different, so that many of the Dublin shopkeepers were ruined, and much damage was done to trade.

The session closed on the 20th July. James did not approve of the anti-Protestant measures which had been passed, as he saw that they would damage his cause in England; but he was helpless, as he depended upon Irish Catholic support. The Parliament in London was indignant at the 'unlawful and rebellious' behaviour of the Dublin Assembly, and declared all its acts to be null and void. None of the measures which had been passed, as a matter of fact, ever were confirmed. Had they been, Irish history would have taken a very different course.

4. THE SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY.

After the departure of James, his army remained before Londonderry. The town is on a hill overlooking the river Foyle. It was then surrounded, as it still is, by a thick wall about a mile in circuit, on which were placed the great guns which had been presented to the colony by the trading companies of London. The wall in many places, however, was in ruins; there was no ditch; the drawbridges were out of order; there were few provisions, and a great number of colonists had come in from the surrounding country.

In the opinion of the French officers the town could not hold out for long. The inhabitants felt, however, that to give up Londonderry was to give up Ireland, for they saw that on their resistance depended the safety of all the colonists and of the Protestant faith. They therefore determined to hold their own.

Lundy, after his attempt to treat with James, was so unpopular that he had to go into hiding, and finally let himself down from the walls disguised as a porter, and so made his escape. After his departure two other governors were appointed by the citizens—**Major Henry Baker,** who took the chief military command, and the **Reverend George Walker,** who stirred up the people by his eloquence, and preserved peace in the town.

There were only about 7,000 fighting men altogether for the defence. These were now divided into eight regiments, each under a colonel. Cannon was placed upon the tower of the Cathedral, ammunition was stored in the vaults, while all worked hard to repair the defences.

The besiegers soon commenced to open fire, and great damage was done within the town. The citizens began to make a **number of sallies,** in the first of which Maumont, the French general, was killed, with about 200 men. In

the succeeding sallies the advantage, on the whole, lay on the side of the garrison. They took two French banners, which they hung up in the Cathedral, and several officers of note were carried as prisoners within the walls.

On the 4th June the Irish and French forces made a determined assault on an important fort at a place called **Windmill Hill,** near the South gate. The colonists drew up on the walls in three ranks to receive them. As the front rank discharged their muskets, the second rank took their place, and so on, the women handing up water and ammunition, so that there was a continuous fire. Finally the besiegers, after what was the hardest fight of the siege, were forced to retreat, 400 of them being slain.

No more direct assaults were now made, and a regular **blockade** was begun. Every entrance to the city was guarded, as also the forts along the Foyle, in order that no provisions might reach the town. About a mile and a half below the city a great **boom** was thrown across the river. Boats filled with stones were sunk in the water, stakes were driven in, and trunks of firs bound together and fastened by cables to the shores. The besieged were now in a sad plight. The provisions began to get very low, horseflesh was sold at 10s. a pound, while even a dog's head fetched as much as 15s. The ammunition was also failing, and brick-bats coated with lead had to be used in the guns. The hot weather was very unhealthy, and many died of disease.

On the 15th June, to their great joy, the sentinels on the tower of the Cathedral beheld thirty English ships in the Bay. The commander, **Major-General Kirke,** had been sent from England to relieve the town, but, afraid to enter the river on account of the enemy's guns, he remained where he was, at about nine miles distant.

By the end of June, James sent the Frenchman, **Marshal Rosen,** to take command. As a last resort this general

caused a large number of Protestants from the surrounding country to be driven between his camp and the walls, but his cruel scheme did not drive the townsmen to surrender, for the citizens erected a gallows in sight of the besiegers on which they threatened to hang all the prisoners if their friends were not allowed to depart.

English public opinion now called loudly for the relief of Londonderry, and Kirke, who had done nothing for the last six weeks, was ordered to move. On the 28th July three provision ships made their way up the river under a tremendous fire from the forts on the banks; the boom was broken, and the town was relieved. On the 31st July the Irish army marched away, and on the following day came the news that the men of Enniskillen had defeated a large force of Irish which had been sent against them at **Newtown Butler.** Ulster was now secured for King William.

5. THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

Early in August, 1689, **Schomberg,*** who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland, landed in Down with 10,000 men. He took Belfast and Carrickfergus, and then marched south to Dundalk. Schomberg was the most distinguished general in William's service, but his army was small, and mainly composed of untrained soldiers; it was also found that the English contractors had supplied him with bad stores and provisions. The tents were rotten, the horses poor, and many of the muskets actually broke in the soldiers' hands. In the circumstances he built a fortified camp, and went into winter quarters near Dundalk.

* Schomberg was a German of high rank, and an experienced soldier; he had served as a Marshal in the French army, but as a Protestant he had fallen into disfavour with Louis XIV.

James marched north, but also retired into winter quarters when he found that he could not draw Schomberg to an engagement.

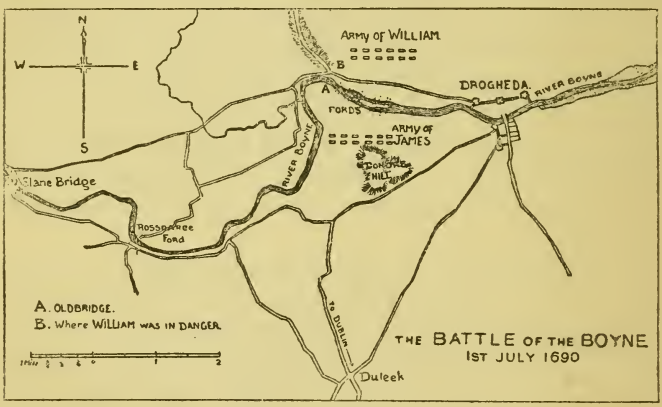
At this time the French were building up an excellent navy, and a number of their ships defeated an English squadron in **Bantry Bay.** On the 14th March, 1690, 7,000 French soldiers, together with a large supply of stores and ammunition, landed at Cork under the command of the **Duke de Lauzun.**

William saw that the situation was now serious, and that he must come over to Ireland himself. He landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th June with an army composed not only of English, but of foreign soldiers belonging to all nations, Danes, Dutch, Germans, and French Protestants. He had with him forty pieces of heavy artillery and four mortars. When he had joined Schomberg he set out for Belfast, and, collecting all the troops he could from Londonderry and Enniskillen, he united his forces at Armagh.

Both Lauzun and Avaux advised James to abandon Dublin and to retreat behind the line of the Shannon. The Frenchmen saw that William's forces were superior; they knew that many of James' followers were scattered about in garrisons, and they thought very little of the abilities of the Irish soldiers. Thousands had flocked into the Jacobite ranks, and, though they were brave enough and would have made good soldiers if trained, there was not sufficient time to change the raw levies into a disciplined army. Many of them had never fired a shot, and knew nothing about arms. It was said that one man in every three had no musket, while another man in every three had a musket that would not go off. The officers had the greatest difficulty in controlling some of their forces, in inducing them to obey promptly the word of command, and in preventing them from straggling in search of plunder. There was also a dearth of money and war

materials. James, for instance, had only the twelve field guns that the French had brought, and no heavy artillery. He decided, however, to risk a battle, and determined, in the words of one of his followers, 'to put his title to three kingdoms upon the event of one day.'

On the 29th June the Jacobites retreated across the Boyne and took up a position on the right or southern bank of the river. On the 30th William's troops appeared on the left bank. The King spent the day examining the ground. The odds against James were great, but his



position was good. He was protected by the Boyne and by the hilly ground behind his camp which prevented the full number of his forces from being seen. He had erected breastworks also along the edge of the water, and had fortified the village of Oldbridge. His left towards Slane, however, was unprotected, and William saw that if this was once turned, the pass of Duleek might be occupied and the road to Dublin cut off.

On the morning of the 30th, when William was breakfasting with his staff at a spot nearly opposite to Oldbridge, only two hundred feet from the enemy, the Irish drew

up a gun and fired a shot which grazed the King's shoulder. The news of William's wound spread in the Irish camp, and it was rumoured that he was dead. The report was carried to Dublin and then to Paris, where the streets were illuminated in honour of the event, the bells rung, and a straw image of William trailed through the mud. These proceedings were rather out of place, for William was but slightly injured, and at the time the French were rejoicing over the death of the leader of the Protestant Alliance, the Battle of the Boyne was over, and the Irish in full flight.

On the morning of the 1st July, William ordered his right wing under young Meinhart Schomberg, one of the Duke's sons, to go up the river towards **Slane** and turn the left flank of the Irish army. James had left the bridge unguarded, but now, realising his mistake, he sent a large part of his army, including the picked French troops of Louis under Lauzun, with all his artillery, to oppose a crossing at **Rosnaree** and Slane. It was too late, however, for William's soldiers had already crossed.

Meanwhile the defence of **Oldbridge** had been left to the Irish infantry under Tyrconnel and Richard Hamilton. About ten o'clock Schomberg crossed the river opposite Oldbridge. The Irish infantry regiments, though completely outnumbered and unsupported by heavy guns, offered a strong resistance, but were at last forced to give way.

William himself prepared to cross the Boyne nearer Drogheda with the men of Enniskillen. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'you shall be my guards to-day. I have heard much of you. Let me see something of you.' Though the Irish infantry had shown so much cowardice, the cavalry made a fine stand, and drove back William's forces again and again. They were beaten at last, and James's army would have been destroyed had it not been for the

French, who saved a complete rout by taking possession of the Pass of Duleek and so securing the road which led to Dublin.*

James had watched the battle from an old church on Dunore Hill, and remained there till he saw that all was lost. His own foolishness had brought this about; he had made the serious mistake of leaving his left exposed, and in order to provide for his own safety he had sent off his baggage and six of his guns to Dublin before the battle began. At five p.m. he left for Dublin, where he hurriedly called the Corporation together and laid the blame of the defeat upon the cowardice of the Irish troops. 'I will never,' he said, 'command an Irish army again. I must shift for myself; and so must you.' He started the same night for Waterford and was soon in France.

The Battle of the Boyne as an actual battle was of little interest. It was fought by two small armies; few on either side had fallen; there were no complicated tactics; the conflict had not been a very fierce one, yet troops from many European nations had met upon the field. Hence it was not merely a victory either of English over Irish or a contest between Irish parties themselves, but a struggle conducted by two Princes who had wider ends in view.

Nevertheless the battle was of the very greatest importance. It set William free to check Louis XIV. on the Continent, and it put an end to a very dangerous crisis in English history. The French fleet by this time had become exceedingly powerful, and on the 30th June, Tourville, the French Admiral, had won such a victory over the English at Beachy Head that he easily became master of the Channel. A French invasion of England was hourly expected, and a Jacobite rising was feared as a consequence. About the same time Louis won a great

* Also William did not wish to take his wife's father prisoner, and so allowed James to escape.

land battle at Fleurus in the Netherlands. William's victory at the Boyne, therefore, came just in time; the French fleet returned to Brest, and Louis, disgusted with James's failure in Ireland, turned all his energies to the war in Flanders.

William entered Dublin on the 6th July, and was received with great joy by the Protestant inhabitants.

6. THE END OF THE WAR AND THE TREATY OF LIMERICK.

Though James had been defeated, it was determined on both sides to continue the war. The colonists were eager for revenge, and looked forward to large grants of lands from the rebels' estates. The Irish, on the other hand, had not yet secured any terms for themselves, and as they saw that their enemies were bent on their ruin, they thought that they might as well sell their lives as dearly as possible. They still held Connaught and Munster and the four harbours of Cork, Kinsale, Limerick, and Galway, which secured to them a free communication with France. The extreme national party, led by **Patrick Sarsfield,** who was descended from an old Anglo-Irish family, and had been educated in France, determined to fall back upon Limerick, and, if necessary, stand a siege. Considering the state of the ramparts, however, which Lauzun declared could be battered down with roasted apples, Tyrconnel and the French officers thought it wiser to retreat and withdraw to Galway with their forces.

William by this time had marched west, and in the second week of August took up a position before **Limerick,** where the garrison, composed of about 30,000 Irish, was commanded by the Frenchman, Boisseleau, Sarsfield having charge of the cavalry.

William had only brought some light guns with him, but a siege train of heavy cannon, provisions, and ammunition, guarded by a convoy of horse, was on its way from Dublin to his camp. Sarsfield was informed of this by a deserter, and so, on the night of the 10th August, 1690, he set out with 500 horse. He crossed the Shannon about 15 miles above Limerick, and took cover the following day in the Silvermine Mountains of Tipperary. That night he and his troop fell upon **the siege train** at a place called Ballyneety, which lay only some twelve miles from William's outposts. He killed the escort, blew up the guns and stores, and made a hasty return.

The citizens of Limerick, encouraged by Sarsfield's brilliant achievement, made as desperate a defence as those of Londonderry had done. The walls were repaired, and the determined assault made on the 27th August was a failure; the Shannon, which surrounded the town, began to rise, the autumn rains commenced, which always brought disease among the English troops, and William was badly needed in England. He determined, therefore, to return, and raising the siege on August 31st, left **Ginkel**, the Dutchman, in command.

Tyrconnel and Lauzun now left for France to defend themselves against the complaints made against them by the Irish. The **Duke of Berwick**, a natural son of James, was appointed Commander-in-Chief.

On the 22nd September an English expedition under John Churchill, who was to become the famous **Duke of Marlborough**, landed at **Cork**, and both that town and Kinsale were captured, so closing two good harbours to the French. This was the most important action of the war; it brought the campaign of 1690 to an end.

During the winter the Irish Tories, or '**Rapparees**,' as they were now called (from the Irish name of the short pike with which they were armed), attacked and burnt

the English territories, but no serious fighting took place. In January, 1691, Tyrconnel returned with arms and stores, and the French general, **St. Ruth,** arrived with reinforcements in May. Ginkel now took the field with 20,000 well-equipped troops, and a splendid train of artillery.

The fortress of **Athlone** had been built by King John upon the Shannon to overawe the clans of Connaught. The town, from the military point of view, was one of the most important in Ireland. It was divided, like Limerick, into an Irish and an English quarter. The English town lay on the Leinster side of the Shannon, while the Irish town and the Castle were on the Connaught bank.

On the 20th June, Ginkel attacked the English town, which fell after some hours of hard fighting. The Irish town was then cannonaded. There was only one bridge over the river, and this the Irish held with great bravery, despite all efforts to dislodge them. On the 30th June, as he could not capture the bridge, Ginkel determined to find a ford. At six o'clock in the evening 1,500 grenadiers crossed the Shannon, and clambering up the bank, entered the Irish town over the remains of walls battered by a ten-days' fire. St. Ruth, who was encamped near by, but had given no help to the garrison, as he thought the fording of the Shannon out of the question, now withdrew in the direction of Galway, and Ginkel set out in pursuit.

St. Ruth, smarting under the loss of Athlone, determined to risk a battle, and drew up his forces upon a hill surrounded by a bog, which lay near the ruined Castle of **Aughrim.** Ginkel arrived on the 12th July, and began to strike at the breastwork of fences with which St. Ruth had covered his front. Fighting went on for some hours till the English cavalry began to lay hurdles on the bog; firm ground was thus reached, and the left flank of the

Irish army was turned. In this action St. Ruth was killed, and, as Sarsfield was with the reserve, and ignorant of the plans of his chief, the Irish ranks were thrown into great confusion. The English won a complete victory, and fought with great ferocity, giving no quarter. Several thousand Irish were massacred, and the country for miles around was covered with corpses.

The wreck of the Irish army now drifted to Galway and Limerick. Galway surrendered on the 21st July, and Limerick became the last refuge of the natives. Ginkel approached the town and began to batter it with his guns, while a number of English warships sailed up the Shannon.

Both sides were now anxious for peace. Tyrconnel was dead, and the Irish were thoroughly disheartened. Sarsfield saw that Limerick could not hold out much longer, and thought to secure better terms while arms were still in his hands. Ginkel, for William, was equally anxious to treat. The rainy season was coming on, the French might send reinforcements, and William wanted all his forces for service against Louis XIV. on the Continent.

The "Articles of Surrender," commonly called the **Treaty of Limerick,** were therefore drawn up and signed early in October, 1691, by the leaders on both sides.* For the surrender of Limerick there was to be a general pardon for all, and a return to the state of affairs that had existed in the reign of Charles II.

The Roman Catholics were to have all the religious liberty that was consistent with the laws; they were to be required to take no other oath but that of 'Allegiance,' and those that had been in arms for King James were to retain the estates that they had held before the war.

* Ginkel signed the treaty, which was ratified by William and Mary (5th April, 1692). By the 11th Article it was provided that their Majesties will 'use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed by Parliament.'

As for the military articles of the Treaty, all officers and soldiers might either join William's army or enlist in the service of foreign nations. About 12,000 men, among whom was Sarsfield, the idol of the Irish, left for France, where they reinforced the famous '**Irish Brigade**,' which took part in most of the great French battles of the closing seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Both Ginkel and William were well aware of the dangers of a winter campaign, and of the arrival of French reinforcements. In their anxiety to set free the troops engaged in Ireland for service on the Continent, they were willing to concede terms to the Roman Catholics, which, they should have known, would prove unacceptable to both the Protestant colonists in Ireland and the great body of the English people.

On October 22nd the English Parliament passed an Act making it compulsory for all members of the Irish Parliament and all office holders to take the old Oath of Supremacy, thus excluding the Roman Catholics from public affairs, while the Irish Parliament passed many severe measures against them. Thus the provisional Treaty of Limerick was repudiated by the Irish Parliament in spite of King William's wish, and when fresh confiscations were made only about one-seventh of the land of Ireland remained to the Roman Catholics.

This almost complete setting aside of the terms of the Treaty of Limerick was a gross breach of faith, but in judging it, it is well to bear in mind that the seventeenth century was an age of religious persecution, and if the Roman Catholics were oppressed in England and Ireland, the Protestants were persecuted in Spain, Italy, and Bohemia, and especially in France. Political morality was also very low; Louis XIV., for example, the greatest monarch in Europe, broke all the partition treaties concerning the Spanish succession. Had the Roman Catholics

had the upper hand in Ireland at this time, they would probably have acted in just the same way as the colonists, though it should be remembered that if they passed an Act of Attainder against the Protestants who refused to rally to the side of James II., they also sanctioned the principle of religious toleration.

CHAPTER VII.

IRELAND UNDER THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM —THE PERIOD OF PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY.

1. THE PENAL LAWS.

THE population of Ireland was now divided into two distinct parts—the great mass of the people, the Roman Catholics, who were the original owners of the soil; and the English Protestant colonists, who, during the last century and a half, had gradually, by means of the various confiscations, acquired the bulk of Irish land. Considering the vast numbers of Roman Catholics in Ireland, their connection with France and the Stuarts, and the dangerous position of England herself under a new government, it was thought necessary to secure the permanent superiority of the Protestants by depriving the Catholics of their civil and religious rights. This policy was carried out by means of a series of enactments passed through the Irish Parliament during the early years of the eighteenth century. The main features of the Penal Laws were as follows :—

1. **The Roman Catholics were prevented from taking any part in the life of the State.** They were excluded from Parliament; they might not become sheriffs; they were forbidden to practise at the bar. They could not sit as members of town corporations, nor could they serve in the army or navy, or possess arms or a valuable horse.

2. **They were separated as much as possible from the**

land. No Catholic could buy land, inherit it, or receive it as a gift from a Protestant. No lease might be held for more than thirty-one years, or on such terms that the profits exceeded one-third of the rent. On a man's death his estate was divided amongst his sons, and if the eldest became a Protestant the whole was settled upon him. A Protestant woman who married a Catholic was deprived of her lands.

3. The Roman Catholic Church was attacked as a body. It was not possible to forbid the Mass, but every priest was obliged to take an oath of abjuration, and all Roman Catholic bishops and regular priests were ordered to leave the country. It was made illegal for a Roman Catholic to teach in a school, and Roman Catholic children might not be educated abroad.

As the eighteenth century advanced people grew more tolerant, and these cruel laws, though enforced stringently for some years, were gradually repealed, but not before much harm had been done. The best and most enterprising among the Irish Roman Catholics, debarred from government, education, and the means of making wealth, left the country in large numbers, and entered the service of France and other nations as soldiers, diplomats, and scholars. Many of those who were left behind were reduced to a condition of poverty and ignorance. The persecution of a Church or of a religion generally leads to an increase in its strength, and many of the Roman Catholic priests, despite the laws, remained in hiding, and ministered to their flocks in remote places; the people became devoted to their religion and hated the race which had declared war upon it. The poverty and ignorance of the Roman Catholics were also bad for the country as a whole—it was kept poor, and that circulation of capital was prevented which is necessary for a prosperous condition of trade.

Non-Anglicans were also foolishly attacked by the introduction of the English **Test Act** in 1704, by which all office holders were obliged to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. This led to the emigration of many of the Presbyterians of the north, bringing their wealth and their industry with them.

The Penal Laws at least had the desired effect of keeping the country quiet. In the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745, when a Highland army actually marched into England, and an Irish rising would have had every chance of success, the Roman Catholics gave no sign ; and the government was even able to spare several of the Irish regiments to subdue the rebels in Scotland.

2. COMMERCIAL RESTRICTIONS.

The notion of a colony which was held at this time by England, France, Spain and other nations was, that it should be ruled for the advantage of the mother country. It was thought, for instance, that a colony should be a source of wealth, or, in any case, that its trade and commerce should neither interfere nor compete with the trade and commerce at home. We know now that the financial or commercial ruin of one country is bound to have a bad effect upon all the others, just as an improvement in a country's prosperity is bound to have a good influence. At this period, however, nations stood apart, and very little was known about the modern science of wealth. It was believed that what was one country's good was another country's harm, and so each tried to build up a large trade and keep it to itself.

The English looked upon Ireland as a colony or dependency, and treated the Protestant Colonists as they treated the Scots and the English settlers in North America.

The people of Scotland had an independent parliament, and they naturally disliked the commercial tyranny of

England; thus when the union between Scotland and England was brought about in 1707, one of the chief conditions was that the Scots should have freedom of trade.

The English settlers in North America also resented being placed under the **Old Colonial System,** and this was one of the chief causes of their great War of Independence.

In Ireland the ruling race, the Protestant colonists, were too dependent upon England to be capable of resistance; the government supported them in power against the great mass of the Roman Catholic population, and in return they had to submit to being ruled for English benefit, and to such restrictions and regulations as the English Parliament chose to impose. The laws against Irish trade, however, were not only due to the care for English commerce. It was also thought that if Ireland was too prosperous the revenues of the English King might be unduly increased as in the days of Strafford—thus the Crown would become independent of Parliament, and so perhaps the tyranny of the Stuarts would be restored. It was thought, too, that if Ireland was kept poor there would be less chance of the country becoming troublesome.

The cattle trade, as in the old tribal days, had always been (as it now is) the chief source of Irish wealth, and Ireland, though not fitted for industry, at least in the south, has always been a good farming or pasture country. During Charles II.'s reign the Irish were **forbidden to export cattle into England,** because it was feared that the large in-come of Irish stock would compete with English to such an extent that the rents of grazing land in England would fall.

Shortly afterwards the Irish were also **excluded from all trade with the colonies.** By the English Navigation Act, nothing could be imported into the English colonies except

from England, in ships built in England, and manned by Englishmen. In 1696 it was also decreed that no goods were to be imported from the colonies into Ireland.

Owing to the prohibition of the cattle export trade, the Irish farmers turned their attention to the growing of wool. Irish wool was of a very good quality, it was cheap, and the cost of living in Ireland was low, so that many skilled weavers came from England and abroad, and set up woollen manufactures in the various Irish towns. A great deal of Irish wool was also sent to the Continent, and there worked into cloth. The English grew alarmed at the rivalry of this foreign cloth, which had already paralysed the industry in the West of England, and they also objected to the large immigration of their own weavers into Ireland. In 1698 the English manufacturers petitioned against the rising Irish Industry. The Irish Parliament was therefore summoned, and the Irish were forbidden to export wool. This, of course, ruined the Irish wool trade. The leading manufacturers, who were mostly Protestants. left Ireland, and carried their skill abroad. It also led to a flourishing smuggling trade with France. The French gave large prices for Irish fleeces, and so great stores of wool were hidden along the islands and cliffs of the wild coasts of the West, and thence shipped on to French vessels, packed in barrels as butter or fish. As the profits were good, all classes, including magistrates and gentry, took part, and this made it very difficult for the government to arrest the smuggling.

Except with regard to dyed and chequered linens, which were also made in England, the **Irish Linen Trade** was not attacked, and this probably explains the fact that it is one of the few flourishing industries in Ireland of to-day.

The laws against Irish trade caused a great deal of discontent amongst the Protestants and Roman Catholics

alike. Jonathan Swift, the celebrated Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, wrote a pamphlet in 1720 urging the Irish, in view of the terrible poverty in the country, to use nothing but Irish goods, and mockingly advised them to burn everything that came from England. In his **Drapier's Letters** he also attacked the government for allowing a certain William Wood, a London ironmonger, to buy a patent to coin halfpence for Ireland for his own gain. The feeling about '**Wood's Halfpence**' ran so high, and the Irish Parliament protested so vigorously, that the patent had to be withdrawn. This was the beginning of the movement of public opinion in Ireland against the old colonial system, which grew stronger and stronger as the century advanced.

3. THE SUBORDINATION OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

King John, in order to gain money for his French wars, had called a Council in Dublin in 1204, to which he summoned all the chief personages of the Kingdom. He also appointed a Deputy, later called a Viceroy, or Lord Lieutenant, to act in his stead. In 1295 the Irish Council received the name 'Parliament,' and was afterwards divided, as in England, into the two Houses of Lords and Commons. The Irish **Privy Council** was established by Henry III., and gradually played a part which was something like that of the modern Cabinet, for the Viceroys were so often changed that they had to rely upon it for direction and aid ; and it also came to have a great influence over the Parliament.

In the time of the Stuarts a large number of **Boroughs** had been created to elect members who would vote in accordance with the King's wishes. Of the 300 members, 216 were elected by boroughs and manors, and of these,

176 were chosen by individual patrons. Thus, the elections were managed by a small number of persons.

The Irish Parliament, again, was not a representative body; not only was there this great evil of the boroughs, but the entire Roman Catholic population was excluded from voting and from electing members. The Parliament was filled with nominees by the English Government—Englishmen who held all the chief offices in Ireland, and members from the boroughs, the owners of which were bribed with pensions and offices to vote for the Crown. Thus the whole political power of the colony was concentrated in the hands of a few; they were checked by no popular opinion, such as binds a modern democratic body, but were responsible only to the Viceroy and to the English ministry.

The Irish Parliament was not only an interested and unrepresentative assembly, but it was not free in itself. By Poynings' Law, passed in 1494 (see page 25), it could not be summoned till its Bills were approved of in England. It gradually acquired the power of originating the heads of its own Bills, but these had still to be sent to the English Privy Council, which could reject or alter them as it pleased.

In 1719, after a legal dispute between the English and Irish House of Lords, it was decreed by an Act, generally referred to as '**The Sixth of George I.**' (6 Geo. I.), that the English Parliament had the power to legislate for Ireland. At the same time the Irish House of Lords was deprived of its right to hear appeals.

Though a large part of the Irish Parliament was devoted to English interests, a party gradually rose up which demanded political freedom. This party went by the name of '**The Patriots,**' and its chief leaders in the early part of the century were **Charles Lucas** and **Anthony Malone.**

Later on it was joined by many other great Irishmen, the chief of whom were **Grattan** and **Flood.**

As in English history, the spirit of independence was first shown by the Irish Parliament over the question of money. In 1692 the Commons rejected a Money Bill sent over from England, because it did not take its rise in their own House. In 1698 **William Molyneux,** a member of Parliament for Dublin University, wrote a book which caused a great sensation both in England and Ireland, in which he tried to show that the Irish Parliament was independent of that of England, and had a right to make its own laws.

In 1709 another Money Bill was rejected because it had been altered in England. In 1749, 1751, 1753 there were disputes about the surplus in the revenue, in which the Commons refused to acknowledge the Crown's right of control. In 1753 the Government retaliated by proroguing Parliament, and seizing the surplus revenue by an order from the King.* This caused great indignation in Dublin, where riots broke out. The **Court Party** was as usual conciliated by gifts of pensions and offices, but a spirit of opposition had been raised, which grew steadily stronger.

4. STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

The condition of most of the Irish Roman Catholics was now very miserable. As we have seen, the Penal Code forbade them to acquire land or take much part in trade, their religion was not recognised, and they had no position in the State. The best of them went abroad, and those of them that remained naturally invested their money out of Ireland, which meant a loss to the country as a whole. The **peasants** were generally very poor, they

* In succeeding years care was taken to have no surplus, *e.g.*, large grants for building were made to Trinity College, Dublin, by Parliament.

had no longer any land of their own, but lived as tenants with very small holdings upon the estates of landlords, many of whom spent much of their time in England. These **'Absentees'** employed either local agents or **'Middlemen'** to manage their lands; the latter paid them a certain sum, and in return were allowed to gain as much profit as they could. The lands over which they had charge were sometimes sublet to as many as five or six successive sub-tenants, all of which made a profit from the rent which they wrung out of the occupying peasants. Besides the **Rack-Rents** paid to the middlemen, the peasants had to pay **Tithes** or dues to the clergy of the Anglican Church, as well as voluntary offerings to their own priests. They had therefore very little over for themselves, and lived in the poorest of mud cabins, with little other property save their plot of potatoes which supplied them with food.

A great increase in pasture land took place during the early part of the eighteenth century. It was found that grazing needed less skill and capital, and much less labour, than agriculture, and the smuggling of wool to France made the cattle trade a very profitable one. A great many of the old tribal common lands were therefore enclosed and many of the peasants were **evicted** from their holdings to make room for the cattle, and had to take refuge in the mountains and bogs. There was often little work to be had, and, there were few landlords left in the country who could give employment. It is no wonder that at times the people became wild and restless, roaming about the country begging, and making a secret war like the old Tories and Rapparees upon those who carried out the enclosures and collected the rents and tithes. In 1761 a number of men called 'Whiteboys' from the white shirts they wore over their clothes, enraged by their heavy burdens and low wages, became a real danger in parts of

the country. All over the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Tipperary, they tore down enclosures, threatened the farmers, and mutilated their cattle. They became so powerful that they even dared to appear in open daylight, blowing their horns. The government adopted severe measures, and the movement was put down by a number of executions and the formation of large bodies of Volunteers in the various districts. Some years later there were similar outbreaks conducted by similar secret societies, such as the **'Oakboys'** and the **'Steelboys,'** among the Protestants of the north who rose against tithes and other exactions.

Those **Protestant gentry** who did not leave the country usually flocked to Dublin, which was then the second city in the Empire. They there maintained splendid houses and attended the Parliament and the Court of the Viceroy. They did not spend all their time in duelling, drinking, gambling, and cock-fighting, as is often supposed, but had some thought for the condition of their country.* The Irish Parliament tried to encourage tillage and set up public grain stores. Acts were passed to provide for the beggars, and workhouses were erected in Dublin and Cork. Free schools were also established for the children of the poor, who were obliged on entering, however, to become Protestants. In 1731 the **Royal Dublin Society** was founded by a number of Irish gentlemen with the object of improving agriculture and setting up manufactures. The Society, for instance, set up model farms, and offered prizes for lace-making and other industries.

One of the most important features of the time was **the great development of the North.** The inhabitants,

* There was agricultural development as the century progressed, waste lands came into cultivation, rents rose, and the landed gentry, whose incomes were principally derived from their estates, were rich and prosperous to judge from their fine country houses as well as from their mode of life in Dublin (*see pp.* 105-106).

mostly Presbyterians, were more industrious and intelligent than any others in the country. The linen trade had grown enormously, and **Belfast**, though not the political capital, was one of the most influential cities in Ireland. **Cork** was the second city in the country, and it was noted for its large export trade in provisions.

5. MOVEMENTS FOR REFORM.

The English colonists in America took up arms against England and the old Colonial System in 1775. The **War of American Independence** raised the whole question of a mother-country's rights over her colonies, and the Protestants in Ireland, especially the Presbyterians, who had always believed in political freedom, sympathised with the rebels, whose grievances were very like their own. France, taking revenge for the loss of her colonies, aided the Americans, and Spain soon joined the League.

England was in great difficulty, and Irish Protestants grew alarmed for their own safety. Four thousand troops from Ireland had been sent to serve in the American war, there was a rumour of a French invaslon, and the Channel swarmed with pirates.* To protect Irish shores a Volunteer corps was formed in Belfast, and then large bodies of **Volunteers** sprang up all over the country, with prominent men such as **Lord Charlemont** and the **Duke of Leinster** at their head.

On the outbreak of the war the English Parliament forbade the export of Irish provisions either to France or the colonies ; the contraband wool trade ceased, and the markets for Irish linen were cut off. This caused great distress in Ireland, and a violent agitation for free trade began.

* Paul Jones, the famous buccaneer, sailed into Belfast Lough and captured a ship of war ; and the Government actually thought it necessary to issue directions about the course to be pursued if the French landed.

The Volunteers originally formed themselves as an army for self-defence, and, though most of them sympathised with the Americans, they were perfectly loyal to England. It was seen, however, that the time had come for the English Ministry to make some concessions. The wishes of forty thousand armed Protestants could not be disregarded, especially as the situation in America was growing serious, and the government was nearly bankrupt. Moreover, English ideas about trade had changed,* and it was now thought that **Free Trade** might be the best policy for a country in the end. The Irish were therefore allowed to provide clothing for their own forces abroad, and certain privileges were given to Irish vessels fishing off the North American coasts. In 1779 the Act which forbade Ireland to export her wool and woollen materials was at last repealed. Irish glass might be exported, and Ireland was granted free trade with the colonies. This measure was greeted in Ireland with the greatest joy, and Dublin was illuminated in honour of the occasion.

Irish Protestants like Grattan also wished for some **Concessions to the Roman Catholics.** The 18th century thinkers, especially in France, had taught men to be more tolerant, and it was now felt that it was not only wrong but ridiculous to persecute people for their faith. For a long time past the Penal Laws had not been strictly enforced. Roman Catholics often used to buy land and hand it over to some Protestant friend, who called it his own, but allowed the purchaser his full rights, and stories are told of Roman Catholic priests and bishops who took refuge in the houses of the Protestant gentry.† Between 1771-1782 a number

* Largely owing to the influence of Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776.

† Lecky tells a story of a Roman Catholic bishop who was much persecuted by a priest hunter. He was allowed by a Protestant magistrate to take refuge in his house. An upper room looking on the garden was kept locked; a report spread that it was haunted kept the servants and others at a distance, and in times of danger the bishop climbed into it by a ladder which lay in the garden beneath the window.

of definite Acts were passed which abolished all the chief articles of the Penal Code except those which excluded the Catholics from political power. In 1771 Catholics were allowed to take leases of sixty-one years for fifty acres of bog, and in 1778 they were allowed to acquire land by leases of 999 years. They could also inherit land in the same way as Protestants. They were allowed about the same time to join the army. The Test Act was repealed in 1780, and thus Dissenters, or non-Anglicans, were allowed full political rights.

The burning desire of the Irish Protestants was now for **Parliamentary Independence.** They felt that it was possible that England might revoke the concessions which she had made, and they asked why loyal Ireland should not receive the same advantage as the Americans. **Henry Flood** was the leader of the Patriot Party from 1759-1775, when he accepted a post under the government and so removed himself from politics. His place was taken by **Henry Grattan,** who entered Parliament in the same year as the outbreak of the war, and who had constantly spoken for free trade and for legislative independence. Grattan's eloquence swayed the House, but the large body of borough-owners opposed every reform.

The Volunteers, now 80,000 men, felt that it rested upon them to speak out the opinion of the Irish Protestants. On the 15th of February, 1782, a large number of delegates from the Volunteers of Ulster met at **Dungannon** and declared for a free Parliament.

At this time a Whig, or Reform, Ministry, under Lord Rockingham, had come into power in England. The English general, Cornwallis, had just surrendered at Yorktown, and **Edmund Burke** made a great impression in the English House by his eloquent pleadings for Irish and Americans alike. At Dublin, Grattan, in a brilliant speech, moved an address to the King, which declared the inde-

pendence of the Irish Parliament. He was enthusiastically supported. There was great excitement in Dublin, where many of the Volunteers had assembled. The English Ministry again gave way. Early in 1782 the Act of George I., which bound Ireland to obey laws made in England, was repealed. The Irish Parliament was given the right to legislate for itself, and the power of the Privy Council was abolished. The **Declaration of Irish Parliamentary Independence** was received with great enthusiasm, and the Irish House of Commons, in gratitude, voted large sums to the government for the carrying on of the war.

6. GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT.

'Grattan's Parliament,' as it was called from the large part played by Grattan in securing its independence, was **not really so free in practice as it was in theory.** It was still subject to the Lord Lieutenant, who, together with all the other great Irish officials, was appointed by the English Ministry, and was responsible only to that English party which happened to be in power. In other words, the Irish Parliament had no control over the executive, and if a dispute arose no method of settling it had been arranged.

The Parliament itself was **still unreformed.** That is to say, the borough-owners still held most of the seats, which they might sell to the highest bidder, and the government, as before, was always able to obtain their votes by means of offices, pensions, and other bribes. Also the Roman Catholics, who formed three-fourths of the population, were still excluded. It was natural that the question of reform should come up almost at once.

The **Volunteers** were not yet dissolved, and they desired to see the purification of the Irish Parliament and the admittance of Roman Catholics. Flood was now their spokesman

in the Irish House, and he demanded an express renunciation from England of her right to legislate for Ireland. Grattan and his friends had been satisfied with the Act of Repeal, but to gratify the Volunteers, who were now over 100,000 strong, a **Renunciation Bill** was carried through the British Parliament in 1783. Flood then brought forward a scheme for the abolition of the borough seats, and the Volunteers held a great meeting in Dublin to support him. His Reform Bill was thrown out, the borough-holders were naturally hostile, and the Irish Parliament resented the interference of the Volunteers in the affairs of their House. Had it not been for the peaceful influence of their leader, Lord Charlemont, violent disputes might have arisen, and perhaps civil war. As it was, the Volunteers gradually dispersed, and their influence upon politics declined.

In 1788 a dispute arose between the English and Irish Parliaments. George III. became insane, and the Whigs and Tories in England had an open quarrel about the powers to be given to a Regent. According to the new doctrine the British Parliament had no authority over the Irish Parliament, but when the latter, on its own account, offered the Prince of Wales the full position of 'Regent of Ireland,' the Tories made a strong protest. The King soon recovered his health, so the **Regency Question** did not need to be settled. It was now seen, however, that on an important matter the Irish and English Houses might have different opinions and wish to act differently also.

For a time events flowed on quietly, and the country became a great deal more prosperous. The abolition of most of the laws against Irish trade had led to an increase of commerce, and agriculture had improved on account of recent bounties on the export of corn. The government also gave money for canals, harbours, and fisheries; the country was being opened up, and there was a better

communication with England. Twenty stage coaches ran from Dublin to distant parts of Ireland,* and six weekly mails passed between London and Dublin. The celebrated English traveller, Arthur Young (1776-1779), was much struck by the appearance of the country, the excellence of the roads, and the advance in Irish trade. Since 1748 he notes that the linen exports had trebled, the rental of the Kingdom doubled, while the general exports to Great Britain had more than doubled. There were still a number of prohibitive duties, however, placed by England upon Irish imports, and these were not removed.

The great **French Revolution** broke out in 1789. The French people had been crushed for centuries under the tyranny of the King and the nobles, and, taught to believe in liberty by their philosophers, and encouraged by the example of the Americans, they burst into open revolt. They set up a democratic government, and swept away the King and all the old abuses of both Church and State.

The action of the French people had a tremendous effect on men's minds, and in Ireland, as elsewhere, it stirred up passionate hopes of larger and more radical reform. It was seen that the Irish Parliament would never do anything for the country. **Grattan** brought forward the questions of parliamentary corruption, the admission of Roman Catholics, and the absolute freedom of trade again and again, and in the end withdrew from the House of Commons in disgust. **John Fitzgibbon**, the Attorney-General (created in 1795 Earl of Clare), was the leader of the old Court party, then the party in power. He was against reform of all kinds. He did not believe in giving more power to the Roman Catholics, and thought things were best as they stood.

* Though there were highwaymen in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin, travelling in Ireland was considered to be actually safer than in England. "A comfortable circumstance," says Mrs. Delany, in her Memoirs, "belonging to this country, is that the roads are so good and free from robbers, that we may drive safely at any hour of the night."

The **Presbyterians of Ulster** were of all Irishmen perhaps the most enthusiastic for the principles of the French. They formed national guards, as in Paris; they rejoiced over French victories, and drank the healths of Mirabeau and other revolutionary Frenchmen. Most of them belonged to the industrious and intelligent middle class, which corresponded to the French 'bourgeoisie,' whose influence had so largely made the Revolution. Like the latter, they hated the payment of tithe, and desired a free Parliament which should really represent the country.

In October, 1791, Wolfe Tone, a young Dublin barrister, founded the Society of **the United Irishmen** at Belfast. The Society at first sought to unite Irishmen of all religions in order to gain Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform, but as time went on it became revolutionary, and desired complete separation from England. A branch was established in Dublin, with **Napper Tandy**, a Protestant shopkeeper, as its secretary, and other branches were formed in other parts of Ireland. The **Roman Catholics** were also discontented, and now that the more enterprising of them, owing to their improved position, were staying at home, they also began to wish for political rights.

The English government was growing alarmed at the attitude of the Presbyterians and at the agitation in Ireland among the Protestants for reform; it was decided therefore to grant some relief to the Roman Catholics. In January, 1793, a Bill was passed through both Parliaments which allowed those who held land worth forty shillings a year to vote in Parliamentary elections. They might also be magistrates, and were admitted to most of the civil offices. They could not, however, sit in Parliament. Thus the **Catholic Relief Bill of 1793** was only a half-measure, and instead of pacifying the Roman Catholics, only made them hope for more.

In January, 1795, Lord Fitzwilliam, who was openly in favour of complete freedom for Roman Catholics, was sent over as Viceroy. All hopes were raised and hundreds of petitions for relief were sent in. Fitzwilliam began by dismissing some of the borough-holders and corrupt officials of the Castle. These hurried over to England and gained the ear of the Court and of the English minister, Pitt. The result was that on the 23rd February Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled, and Lord Camden, who was in sympathy with the Court party, was sent over as Viceroy in March.

The extension of the franchise to the Catholics, and the disappointment caused by Lord Fitzwilliam's recall, unfortunately led to a revival of all the old bad feeling between Protestants and Roman Catholics. The quarrels between them led to the founding of the **'Defenders'** and **'Peep o' Day Boys.'** The Defenders were something like the Whiteboys; they made war upon rents and tithes, and attacked Protestant houses. The Peep o' Day Boys, in their turn, attacked the Roman Catholics.

In 1795, after serious rioting near Armagh, the **Orange Society** was formed among the Protestant peasantry of Ulster as a league of defence. A Catholic rising was feared, and there were outrages and cruelties on both sides.

7. THE REBELLION OF 1798.

The Revolutionary government in France declared war upon England in February, 1793, and as it was seen that an Irish rising would greatly handicap the English in the struggle, it was determined to find out the exact state of the country. **Wolfe Tone**, the founder of the United Irishmen, was an ardent revolutionary, and he desired a complete break with England, and the establishment of an Irish republic, but he saw that Ireland would be unable to do anything unless she received aid from France. He

therefore drew up a memorial upon Irish affairs for the French government. This document fell into the hands of a spy, who delivered it up to the Dublin officials. Tone was not harshly dealt with, and was allowed to depart to America. He soon made his way to Paris, and he persuaded the Directory to do something for the Irish cause. An expedition was fitted out in December, 1796, under the brilliant general **Hoche,** but, though some of the French ships reached **Bantry Bay,** where they lay inactive for a week, most of them were separated by a snow storm, and the whole expedition was a failure.

In 1797 the Dutch admiral, **De Winter,** also prepared in the 'Texel' an expedition to Ireland, but he was delayed by the weather, and when he sailed out was completely defeated by Admiral Duncan at the **Battle of Camperdown** on October 11th.

Had either of these expeditions landed, the English power in Ireland would have been in very great danger. England had her hands full of the war with France; there was a mutiny in the fleet, and both Protestants and Roman Catholics in Ireland were ready for a rising.

As it was, the situation was so alarming that **Martial Law** was proclaimed in the north. Those who were suspected of having arms were, in many cases, tortured or flogged; many houses and cabins were burnt, courts were set up to try and punish offenders on the spot, and many innocent persons suffered with the guilty. This cruel treatment at the hands of the half-disciplined Irish militia and yeomanry naturally kept many of the malcontents from a rebellion, and in any case they could do nothing without arms. A rising had, however, been arranged for the middle of May, 1798, and the southern forces were to be led by **Lord Edward Fitzgerald,** the brother of the Duke of Leinster.

Lord Edward was an enthusiastic young nobleman, who sympathised with the French Revolution, and he held

very much the same views as Wolfe Tone. He had served in the English army and in America, and he had joined the Society of the United Irishmen, now a rebel body which extended all over Ireland. As he was a Protestant, a soldier, and a member of a family illustrious in Irish history, the government looked upon him as the most dangerous of the rebels. A reward of £1,000 was offered to anyone who would give him up. He was betrayed by one of his followers, and arrested in Dublin on the 19th May. He made a desperate resistance, and received a wound from which he died in prison in a few days.

On the 23rd May the rising, now without a leader, broke out in **Dublin, Kildare,** and **Meath.** The mail coaches were stopped on the roads, and the rebels attacked houses and villages, plundering and murdering wherever they went. The troops, mainly a Volunteer force of Protestant yeomanry and militia, which were sent against them, behaved, in their turn, with equal cruelty. Hundreds of peasants were plundered and massacred, though many of them, as in Ulster, were perfectly loyal. **Dublin** itself was carefully guarded by the citizens, but severe fighting went on all round, and every day the bodies of rebels were brought into the city in carts, and shewn in the Castle Yard.

By the action of the government and of the secret societies, all the old bad passions of the seventeenth century were aroused. Every effort was made by unscrupulous politicians to set the Orangemen and the Catholic peasants at each other's throats. They told the people that the Orangemen would wipe out the Roman Catholic religion, and that the French were coming to give them back their lands.

Father John Murphy, a Roman Catholic priest, whose church had been burnt by the yeomanry, led 4,000 of the rebels to the **Hill of Oulart,** near Enniscorthy, where they defeated a body of militia from Cork which

was sent against them. Enniscorthy was attacked and captured, and the rebels, over 7,000 strong, took up a position upon **Vinegar Hill** close by. Wexford and Gorey were then taken, and an attack was made upon **New Ross** where they were opposed by General Johnston with a large body of troops. The rebels were armed only with pikes, pitchforks, or rusty bayonets, and formed a rabble rather than an army. They rushed without fear, however, upon the English guns, one man even thrusting his hat and wig into the very mouth of a cannon and calling to his comrades to come on. The rebels took New Ross, but were soon driven out again. Some fugitives, maddened by the news that the soldiers were giving no quarter to the prisoners, burnt down a barn at **Scullabogue,** where about two hundred prisoners, most of whom were Protestants, were shut up, and when some of these tried to escape they were thrust back into the flames with pikes. **Bagenal Harvey,** a Protestant gentleman, who acted as leader in Wexford, was horrified at this dreadful outrage, but he could do nothing to restrain the people.

The tide of success for the rebels now turned; they were defeated at **Arklow,** and General Lake surrounded Vinegar Hill with a large force. They were there again defeated on the 21st June, and lost both Enniscorthy and Wexford. The leaders were executed, and the rebellion was crushed, though there was still some unimportant fighting in Carlow, Queen's County, Wicklow, and Kildare.

Several of the Presbyterians in the North, especially in Counties Antrim and Down, also rose in rebellion, but the movement was suppressed. The great body of the Presbyterians began to see that the French navy was not strong enough to give any real aid, and they did not approve of the way in which the rebellion had been conducted. Steps were taken to dissolve the union between themselves and the Roman Catholics by spreading amongst them exaggerated reports of the Protestant massacres in the

South, and by representing the Southern rebellion as a purely religious movement.

The French were now very little interested in Ireland, as they meant to attack England in the East, and had sent their fleet under Buonaparte to Egypt, where it was defeated on the 1st August, 1798, by Nelson at the Battle of the Nile.

A small expedition was, however, dispatched under **General Humbert**, and landed at **Killala**, in Mayo, on August 22nd. Humbert expected to find the country in full insurrection, but the rebellion in Wexford had already been put down, and the peasantry of the West were too poor and ignorant to rise on account of their wrongs. Encouraged, however, by the presence of the French soldiers, many of them flocked to join the invader. These untrained auxiliaries could render very little effective assistance. Humbert marched to Castlebar, where a large force was assembled to bar his progress. Though the English were much superior in numbers and equipment, they consisted for the most part of militia, and, with the exception of their cavalry, were no match for the regulars. They fled almost without striking a blow, leaving their guns and colours in the hands of the French. But Humbert's small forces were surrounded by the new Lord Lieutenant, Cornwallis, with 20,000 men, and he was forced to surrender on the 8th September.

Two other French expeditions were similar failures. One appeared off the coast of Donegal, and departed almost at once. The other, under Admiral Bompard, arrived in **Lough Swilly**, and was attacked by an English squadron. **Wolfe Tone**, who was with the expedition, was captured, and sentenced to be hanged. He committed suicide in prison.

On the 17th July, 1798, a pardon had been promised to all who would lay down their arms and take the Oath of Allegiance.

The rebellion had failed from the lack of union between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. Their political aims had been, roughly, the same, but while Ulster cared most about republican reforms, the Roman Catholics of the South were chiefly anxious to regain their lands, and to have the tithes and heavy rents done away with; also the old differences of race and religion which had laid hidden for so long had again risen to the surface.

8. THE UNION.

England was now in the midst of her great war with Napoleon, and she could not afford to be fettered by Irish affairs, nor run the risk of Ireland allying herself with France. 'Ireland in its present state,' wrote a politician who knew the country, 'will pull down England. She is a ship on fire, and must either be cast off or extinguished.' The plan of governing Ireland through a small part of the Protestant colony had failed; the Irish Parliament had lost all authority, and could not keep order, for both Protestants and Roman Catholics were now afraid of losing their lives and property.

The Union between England and Scotland had benefited both countries, and, as a Union with Ireland had also long been thought of, Pitt now determined to bring it about.

The Irish Parliament was at first opposed to the plan, and many able men put forward arguments against it. It was believed, for instance, that taxation would increase, that Irish interests would be neglected, and that the Protestant gentry would leave the country. The lawyers were against it, for it was more to their interest to have a Parliament at home. The Dublin tradesmen and shopkeepers feared a loss of trade. The great holders of borough seats knew that they would be deprived of a great source of gain. On the other hand, it was supported

by the manufacturers of the North, who believed that a Union would increase their business, and also by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and many of the upper class Roman Catholics, who were led to believe that in return for their support they would obtain Catholic Emancipation.* On the whole, however, the people were indifferent, for they were exhausted by the rebellion, and had no heart for politics.

The Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of **Cornwallis,** and the Chief Secretary, Lord **Castlereagh,** were instructed to secure a majority of votes for the government. Each borough seat was bought up for £15,000, and peerages, offices, and pensions were freely bestowed. When the Irish Parliament met, therefore, for the last time on the 15th January, 1800, both Houses were packed with the supporters of the Government, and **the Act of Union** was carried by a majority of forty-six.

Ireland was to form one kingdom with England, but the Irish Administration, formed of the Viceroy, his Secretary, and the Privy Council, was to remain. Ireland was also to have her own law courts, her debt was to be kept separate, and she was to be separately taxed. The three hundred members of the old Irish House of Commons were reduced to one hundred, and these were to take their places at Westminster. Thirty-two Irish peers were to sit in the English House of Lords. Ireland was to contribute two-seventeenths towards general expenditure, but all her exports were to go free of duty and were to receive the same bounties and privileges as English goods. The Anglican Church was to be recognised as the State Church, and to be supported, as before, by the incomes from its estates, and tithes levied from all cultivators of the soil, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant.

* Pitt wished to combine the Union with the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, and State provision for the Roman Catholic clergy, but he was opposed by Lord Clare and others. George III. was also hostile to the concession.

It might have been better if the Act of Union had been passed with the full consent of all parties in Ireland, but this was not possible, and it was not the fashion at the beginning of the nineteenth century to consult people about their own government. The members of the great Congress of European powers, for instance, which met at Vienna in 1815, after the war, arranged the affairs of various states as they thought best, placing rulers over them, joining some together, and separating others, and no one considered this strange. Again, the Roman Catholics might have been allowed to sit in the English Parliament and have their share of political rights, but, as it was, the Roman Catholic majority in Ireland were treated exactly as were the few Roman Catholics in England, and the English people, alarmed by the excesses of the French Revolution, were in no mood for reform.

England was, however, at this time doing the very greatest service for every country in Europe, including Ireland, in opposing Napoleon ; and as she could not have carried on the war without the Union, she had to bring it about as best she could.

CHAPTER VIII.

IRELAND SINCE THE UNION.

1. CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

THE Roman Catholics in Ireland had to wait for nearly thirty years after the Union before they received full political rights. This was because the feeling of the upper classes in England was against all change. They were afraid of the rebellious spirit which had spread from France amongst the English working classes, leading them to clamour for more political power and for the reform of Parliament.

It was also known that some of the Roman Catholics were intriguing with France and with Napoleon. In 1803 **Robert Emmet,** an ardent young man with revolutionary ideas, began to correspond with some Irishmen in Paris and formed a plan for another rebellion. The plot was discovered before his preparations were fully made, and all that actually happened was a riot in the streets of Dublin. This was enough, however, to strengthen the feeling in England against the Irish Roman Catholics.

George III. was also opposed to any concessions, and though Pitt had practically undertaken to carry through a Bill, no measure could become law without the King's consent.

The Irish Roman Catholics needed a leader, and they found one in **Daniel O'Connell,** an extremely able young Roman Catholic, with a great gift of eloquence, who had studied in France, and who was already a prominent

member of the Irish Bar. In 1823 he founded the celebrated **Catholic Association** in Dublin, by means of which Catholic Emancipation was finally won.

As time went on, and England was victorious in the war with France, the feeling against the Roman Catholics diminished. Grattan had pleaded for emancipation on several occasions in the House of Commons, the Whigs took up the question, and bills were passed through the Lower House, though they were thrown out by the Lords. Meanwhile O'Connell, who had become extraordinarily popular with the people, was addressing large meetings of Roman Catholics all over Ireland. He won over the priests to be his allies, and branches of the Association were everywhere set up. A fund for expenses was also started, to which even the poorest were invited to subscribe, and by the end of 1824 this **Catholic Rent**, as it was called, was coming in at the rate of over £600 a week. This shows the enthusiasm of the people, and their belief in O'Connell as a leader.

The number of evictions at this time amongst the peasantry caused great discontent and led to a revival of Whiteboy outrages. O'Connell and the priests were against all violence and crime, but while they kept the passions of the people in check, the Association guarded the interests of the Roman Catholic peasantry and did what it could to prevent unfair evictions.

No Roman Catholics could as yet sit in Parliament on account of the oaths which every member was required to take. But in 1828, when a vacancy occurred for Clare, O'Connell decided to stand. The gentry all voted against him, but the peasantry, headed by the priests, were for him almost to a man. He, therefore, was returned in triumph by a large majority, though he could not take his seat.

The Clare Election led to great excitement among the Irish Roman Catholics, and the Association decided to

put up their own candidate for every county at the next general election. Ireland was really ready for a rebellion, and this, together with the growth of the reform movement in England, decided Wellington, who was then Prime Minister, against his personal opinion, to bring in a Bill of Conciliation.

In 1829 the measure known as Catholic Emancipation was passed. Roman Catholics might now take their seats in Parliament, and all offices were open to them except those of Regent, Irish Viceroy, and Lord Chancellor. The Chancellorship, however, was thrown open in time.

Like the Relief Act of 1793, the **Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829** was not a full measure of reform. The peasants were obliged to support their own priests and to pay tithes to the Protestant clergy. In 1838, however, tithe was commuted or changed into a rent-charge which was payable directly, not by the occupiers of the soil, but by the landlords.

In 1869 the **English Church in Ireland was disestablished.** It lost its favoured position as the State Church, and, though its clergy were fully compensated, much of its revenue went for education and other purposes. At the same time State grants to other religious bodies were discontinued. The 'Regium Donum' was taken from the Presbyterians, and the sums which had been given to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth for the education of priests were no longer continued.

Under the Penal Laws the Roman Catholics had very little chance to obtain education; the **Charter Schools,** founded in 1733, were to educate children as Protestants, and the **Kildare Street Schools,** founded in 1811, were not suitable for Catholics. The **National School System,** however, was set up in 1831, and, as all religious teaching was given separately, children of all creeds might attend.

For higher education there had always been Trinity College, Dublin, founded in 1591, but Roman Catholics were only admitted to degrees in 1793, and to all scholarships and appointments within the College in 1873. The **Queen's Colleges** of Cork, Galway, and Belfast were founded in 1845. The Royal University was established as an examining body in 1879, and this in turn was abolished by the **Irish Universities Act, 1908,** which has set up two new Universities, both free from any formal religious test, one being in Belfast, the other in Dublin. Thus a way has been found of procuring for Catholics as well as Protestants the advantages of higher education.

2. THE LAND QUESTION.

After the first English conquest of Ireland in the twelfth century, the **Anglo-Norman lords** gained a large part of the Irish land and held it under the Feudal System. As time went on, we saw that most of them mixed with their Irish tenants, took up Irish ways, and practically became Celtic chieftains.

After the Elizabethan conquest there were again large confiscations, and **English and Scotch settlers** were planted upon the land throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The new landlords either drove the old Irish away or else kept them as tenants and labourers upon their estates. They looked upon the lands as their own, by right of conquest, and they held them according to English law. The natives, on the other hand, remembered that the same lands had been held by their ancestors, and they hated the new settlers, not only because they had taken the lands of the Irish, but also because they were of a different race and religion.

In England, landlords and tenants, who were both of the same race, had each their own rights; the landlord let out his lands to tenants with whom he arranged a fair rent, and

supplied his farms before letting them with everything that was necessary, such as drainage, fences, and outhouses. In Ireland, however, the landlords, as conquerors, were the absolute masters of their tenants; they often lived out of the country, and managed their estates through middlemen, who ground down the people. The Irish tenant had to build and put up everything for himself; and when he was evicted or turned off his plot, as he might be at very short notice, he was not compensated for improvements which he had made. He had, therefore, no real right or interest in the soil, and no encouragement to be thrifty or to improve his farm or husbandry. The **custom of Tenant Right in Ulster** generally protected the Ulster tenant from unfair eviction, and gave him practically the right of ownership over his improvements, which he could sell to his successor; but in the rest of Ireland, where a peasant had made improvements, the landlord could raise the rent and so pocket what profit had been gained.

Owing to the laws against Irish manufactures and industries in the eighteenth century, the peasants had become absolutely dependent upon the land. After the Relief Bill of 1793, which conferred the 40s. franchise upon them, the landlords who hoped to be supported by the votes of their tenantry encouraged the increase of small holdings upon their estates. From this and other causes, such as the cheapness of food, the **population steadily grew**; there was severe competition for land, and rents became high.

During the long war with Napoleon foreign markets had been closed, and there was a great demand in England for Irish cattle and corn; more lands were brought under tillage, and rents were raised still further. With the peace of 1815 the demand for Irish produce fell off, and the landlords lost most of their trade. Meanwhile, owing to the recent prosperity, the numbers of the peasantry

had grown enormously, so that their wages now fell, and as they were often unable to pay their rents, many of them were evicted. Some of the landlords, for the sake of their farms, wished to consolidate their properties and to do away with many of the small holdings, and as the Emancipation Act of 1829 took away the franchise from the forty-shilling freeholders, they no longer had the same interest in maintaining a numerous tenantry.

The **peasants,** especially in the South and West, became **miserably poor and wretched,** and, owing to their great numbers, generally sank into the position of agricultural labourers, merely renting their cabins and small potato plots from their employers.

In 1844 the Government appointed a **Commission,** with the **Earl of Devon** as Chairman, to enquire into the grievances of Irish tenants, and the evidence collected by this body is our chief authority for the condition of the people just before the famine. In many districts the potato formed the sole diet of the labourer and his family, because it was the cheapest food upon which they could possibly live.

In 1845* **the potato crop was suddenly blighted,** and so a large number of people were deprived of food. Thousands of persons perished not only from hunger, but from the fever which usually accompanies famine. The English people did what they could to relieve the distress; the Government ordered large quantities of Indian corn from the United States, and established depots throughout the country to distribute food. Relief works, such as the making of roads, were also set up to give employment to the destitute. Money, clothing, and food came from all over the world, even from Turkey, while the English

* The blight first appeared in 1845, and was only partial. In 1846 the crop was almost totally destroyed. By 1847 the disease had greatly diminished.

and American peoples vied with each other in the sacrifices which they made. Most of the Irish gentry also displayed their charity either by remitting their rents or by working upon the various Relief Committees.

The **Great Famine (1845-1847)** led to many important changes in the condition of the Irish people. For a time it increased the sufferings of the poorer classes, who, for fear of starvation, began to emigrate to America in such large numbers that the population, which then stood at eight-and-a-half millions, soon fell to below five million inhabitants. It also struck a heavy blow at the landlords, many of whom lost their rents and became bankrupt.

In 1846 the **old Corn Laws were repealed,** and all foreign and American grain was allowed to come into Great Britain free. This was of service at the actual time of the famine, but later on it led to the depression of agriculture, as it deprived Ireland of an advantage in the English market.

A great deal of attention now began to be given to the Irish land problem. In 1848, to enable bankrupt landlords to get rid of their lands, the **Encumbered Estates Act** was passed, which set up a Court of Sales in Dublin. The new purchasers, however, were often harsher and more unpopular landlords than the old. They were generally business men or small shopkeepers, and they exacted heavier rents, and insisted on prompt payment.

In 1850 a **Tenant Right League** was formed to try and gain for the tenant what were afterwards known as the **'Three F.'s'** namely, (1) a fair rent to be fixed by arbitration, or by the State, (2) fixity of tenure so long as the fair rent was paid, (3) freedom of sale, or the right to sell a farm and keep the purchase money.

Mr. Gladstone's **Land Act of 1870** recognised the Tenant Right of Ulster as legal, and obliged the landlords to give compensation for tenants' improvements, or for eviction

for any reason except the non-payment of rent. By a clause in that Act, tenants who wished to buy their lands might borrow a part of the purchase money from the State. This was the beginning of the scheme to turn all Irish peasants into proprietors, which has since been carried out by the various Land Purchase Acts.

In 1879 bad harvests had caused more poverty, evictions and discontent, and **the Land League** was founded by Michael Davitt, the son of a Mayo peasant. Its aim was to improve the position of the tenant. **Charles Stewart Parnell** was elected President of the League. Those who took the land of an evicted tenant were shunned; tradesmen refused to sell them anything, nor could they find anyone to work for them. This they called **Boycotting**, from the name of the first victim, a Captain Boycott, in Mayo.

In 1881 **Gladstone's Second Land Act** was passed. The Act recognised the 'Three F.'s.' The tenants were given the right to a free sale of their holdings, and fixity of tenure so long as they paid their rents. Landlords and tenants might arrange for a 'fair rent' between themselves, but if they could not agree, land courts, which were set up for the purpose, were to mediate between them. The rents decided upon by the courts were not to be altered for fifteen years, and as long as they were paid the tenants could not be evicted.

Yet evictions were still going on, and there was great distress in the country; landlords were murdered, and there were many crimes. Parnell and others advised the people to pay no rents, whereupon the Government put him into prison for several months. On the 6th May, 1882, Lord Frederick Cavendish, the Chief Secretary, and Mr. Thomas Burke, the Under-Secretary, were murdered in Phœnix Park by a party of violent men. The English people were much shocked, Ireland was placed under police rule, and no more reforms were granted for some years.

In 1885 Lord Salisbury's Government passed the first of the Land Purchase Acts, known as the **Ashbourne Act.** The aim of the Act was to abolish landlordism gradually in Ireland, and to help the tenants to become the owners of their own lands, for it was thought that if the peasants became their own landlords they would be more likely to place themselves upon the side of law and orderly rule. By this Act, and by **Mr. Balfour's Act of 1891,** other large sums were lent. The peasants borrowed the money, which they paid back in instalments, the land becoming their own after a certain number of years.

Mr. Wyndham's Act, passed in 1903, provided another large loan, together with a certain sum out of which a bonus or free grant is made to the landlords according to the amount of the purchase. This bonus was provided to induce landlords to sell.

The Irish tenant can no longer be evicted at will, because he has a right to his holding. If he does not agree with his landlord about the rent, the Court of the Irish Land Commission fixes a fair amount. Again, if he wishes to buy his land, the State is ready to lend him a sum on easy terms, and he knows for certain what the annual instalment will be for years to come. He is thus encouraged to make what he can from his lands, and already he is becoming more thrifty and prosperous.

In 1891 the **Congested Districts Board** was established by the Government to deal with the extreme poverty of the people in certain districts of the West.* The Board encourages farming and industry, and has done much for the enlargement and improvement of small holdings. Besides other useful work it assists tenants to build new houses, and constructs bridges, roads, piers, and fences; it also promotes sea fisheries and cottage industries of all kinds.

* The Congested Districts are :—Donegal, Leitrim, Sligo, Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, Kerry, and part of Cork and Clare.

In 1894 the **Agricultural Organisation Society** was founded by **Sir Horace Plunkett** to encourage co-operation or union between Irish farmers in order that they may improve their trade, and work in the best way, and with the best materials.

In 1899 the **Department of Agriculture** was started to give further encouragement to agriculture and industry, and to provide technical instruction.

In the nineteenth century great reforms were carried out all over Europe. Many reforms were made in England, and English statesmen have given a great deal of attention to Ireland, and have done what they could to remove the old grievances of the people.

3. HOME RULE.

The first protest against the Union was the revolt of **Robert Emmet** in 1803. He and his followers, like the United Irishmen, believed in the principles of the French Revolution, and wished for an Irish Republic.

Twenty years later **Daniel O'Connell** became the leader of another movement to break up the Union. He founded a **Repeal Association,** and held great meetings all over the country to rouse the people. Unlike Emmet, he did not believe in actually using force, but his language was so violent that the Government prohibited his meetings, and he himself was arrested. From this time forward he lost much of his influence with the people. It is said that the great famine of 1846-7, which brought so much misery to Ireland, broke O'Connell's heart. He died at Genoa in 1847.

Soon after, another movement arose among a number of enthusiastic young men who wished to go much further than O'Connell, desiring to see Ireland cut off from England and recognised as a separate nation. All over Europe similar efforts were being made to secure national independence,

or democratic reforms. The chief members of the **'Young Ireland'** party were—John Mitchel, Thomas Davis, Fintan Lalor, Charles Gavan Duffy, and William Smith O'Brien. They did not approve of O'Connell's idea of winning separation through peace, but were prepared to use force if force was required. They put forward their views in the 'Nation' newspaper, and they did what they could to raise up a national spirit by a study of Irish history and literature. Some of the party tried to raise a rebellion; bodies of men were enrolled under the old revolutionary name of 'National Guards,' firearms were collected, and the Castle was to be attacked. But as the priests favoured peaceful methods, and as the people gave them little support, their efforts were a failure. The Government arrested the leaders, and caused them to be transported.

In 1857 James Stephens founded the **Society of the Fenian Brotherhood.** The members were mostly Irish-Americans who had emigrated from Ireland, and who sympathised with the movement against the Union. Large funds were collected, and many of the Irish soldiers who had fought in the American Civil War determined to bring about a rising in Ireland. The Fenians were all bound together by a secret oath, but there were informers amongst them, and the Government knew of everything that was going on. Nothing came of the plot in Ireland itself, but a scheme was laid in 1867 to seize Chester Castle, and in an attempt to rescue two Fenian prisoners from a prison van in Manchester a policeman was shot; there was also another attempt to blow up Clerkenwell prison in London. All this drew the attention of the English people to Irish grievances, and it was shortly afterwards that the Anglican Church was disestablished and that the Land Act of 1870 was passed.

What is now known as the Home Rule Movement was

set on foot by **Isaac Butt,** who created an **Irish Home Rule League** in 1872. Butt and his party did not wish for a repeal of the Union, but for a Parliament which should sit in Dublin and manage purely Irish affairs. He brought the question again and again before the House of Commons, but he was always outvoted, and his efforts came to nothing.

Charles Stewart Parnell then came to the front as the leader of the Home Rulers, who now formed a definite party, which gradually came to include most of the Irish members of Parliament. He organised the party, and taught it to vote solidly together. On every possible occasion he and his followers hampered parliamentary business by speeches or by forcing a vote. This process was known as 'obstruction,' and Parnell used it to force the House of Commons to give full attention to Irish affairs. As we have seen, Parnell was also keenly interested in the land question, and so he had the peasants on his side. He won the sympathies of the Irish in America, who sent over large sums of money for his cause.

A number of English Liberals now began to think that Ireland ought to have Home Rule, and in 1886 **Mr. Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule Bill.** Irish members were no longer to attend at Westminster, and a Parliament was to sit in Dublin and to legislate upon nearly all matters which related to Ireland. This Bill was defeated in the House of Commons.

In 1888 a violent letter appeared in the London 'Times,' which made excuses for the Phoenix Park murders. The letter was believed to have been written by Parnell (as it had his name attached to it), and did him much harm in England, but it was afterwards discovered to be a forgery.

In 1889 it became known that Parnell's private life was blemished, and he lost favour with the Roman Catholic Church and with a large part of the people. He died soon afterwards, in 1891.

Another Home Rule Bill was introduced by Mr. Gladstone in 1893. Instead of an Irish Parliament with one house, there were to be two houses as in England: a Legislative Council, which corresponded to the House of Lords, and a Legislative Assembly similar to the House of Commons. The Irish members at Westminster were to be reduced in number. This Bill was passed by a small majority in the House of Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. Nothing was then heard of Home Rule till the defeat of the Unionist Party in 1906.

The Liberals have since then made Home Rule for Ireland a part of their programme, while the Conservatives have supported the cause of all those in Ireland who wish to remain in close connection with England, and who believe in preserving the Union not only for the good of their country, but of the whole Empire.

The chief provisions of the **Home Rule Bill introduced by Mr. Asquith** on April 12th, 1912, are as follows :—

1. The Irish Parliament, sitting in Dublin, is to consist of two houses—a Senate and a House of Commons. It is to deal with most matters relating to Ireland. The Army and Navy, the collection of taxes, the Post Office Savings Bank, foreign affairs, Old Age Pensions and National Insurance, the Land Purchase Scheme, etc., are to be under the authority of the Imperial Parliament, which has the supreme power. The number of Irish members at Westminster (a hundred and three) is to be reduced to forty-two.

2. The government of Ireland is to be administered through the Lord Lieutenant and a number of Irish ministers, who are to preside over various departments of State like the members of the English Cabinet, and to be responsible to the Irish Parliament.

3. All taxes levied in Ireland are to be paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom; but an annual sum,

called the 'Transferred Sum,' is to be paid out of that Exchequer to the Irish Exchequer for the expenses of Irish government. This transferred sum is to be made up of,

(*a*) The equivalent of the cost of Irish services at the time of the passing of the Bill.

(*b*) £500,000, which is gradually to be reduced to £200,000.

(*c*) The proceeds of any taxes imposed by the Irish Parliament.

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